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WAR DEPARTMENT : : OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

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SPECIAL REPORT OF

J. M. DICKINSON

SECRETARY OF WAR

TO THE PRESIDENT

ON

THE PHILIPPINES

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1910

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CONTENTS.

	Page.
Itinerary	5
Inspections	6
Philippine independence	6
Law and order	9
Legislative Assembly	10
Education	11
Philippine Constabulary	12
Friar lands	13
Filipinization of the public service	17
Percentage of American and Filipino employees	18
Artesian wells	19
Animal diseases	19
Rinderpest	19
Surra	20
Roads	20
Lepers	20
Lands in Manila occupied for army purposes	21
Penal Institutions	21
Penal colony	21
Prisons	23
Financial condition	23
Agricultural Bank	24
Railroads	25
Exports and imports	27
Health and sanitation	28
Coal	29
Hotel	30
Hospital in Manila	31
Fodder	31
Agricultural College	31
Agricultural conditions	32
Government of the Philippine Islands	33
Recommendations	34
Appendixes	35
A.—List of petitions submitted to the Secretary of War during his visit to the Philippines and of the petitioners	37
B.—Hearings before the Secretary of War, held in Marble Hall, Ayuntamiento, Manila, on September 1, 1910	41
C.—Letter of the Nacionalista Party	60
D.—Memorandum from both political parties	82
E.—Message of the Popular Nacionalista League of the Philippines	86
F.—Letter of Hon. Manuel Quezon	91
G.—Statement of American and Filipino employees	92

SPECIAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, D. C., November 23, 1910.

Mr PRESIDENT:

In pursuance of your direction I visited the Philippine Islands, sailing from San Francisco on the 28th day of June last and returning to Washington on the 7th day of November.

I reached Manila on Sunday, the 24th day of July, 1910, and remained in the Islands until September 3, 1910. Of this time, I spent thirteen days in Manila, the remainder of the time being devoted to visiting various portions of the islands. My itinerary was substantially as follows:

1910.

July 24. Manila.
25. Manila.
26. Manila.
27. Fort William McKinley and Manila.
28. Inspection of Corregidor and Cavite, returning in evening to Manila.
29. Manila, leaving about midnight by boat for Olongapo.
30. Inspection of Olongapo and Subic Bay, leaving in afternoon by boat for Tagudin.
31. Overland trip by horse from Tagudin to Cervantes.

Aug. 1. Overland trip by horse from Cervantes to Bontoc.
2. Bontoc.
3. Overland trip by horse from Bontoc to Cervantes.
4. Overland trip by horse from Cervantes to Tagudin; leaving Tagudin in evening by boat for San Fabian.
5. Arrived in early morning at San Fabian; train from San Fabian to Camp Number One; automobile from San Fabian to Baguio, arriving at Baguio before luncheon.
6. Baguio; Camp John Hay.
7. Baguio and vicinity; Mirador Observatory; Stock Farm.
8. Left Baguio about 8.30 a. m.; automobile to Camp Number One; automobile inspection of Province of Pangasinan; inauguration of two bridges at Dagupan and trade school at Lingayen; spent night at Lingayen.
9. Left Lingayen by automobile early morning of Aug. 9; arriving at Dagupan, took train, returning to Manila, stopping en route at San Fernando, Province of Pampanga, and Camp Stotsenberg.
10. Manila.
11. Manila.
12. Manila.
13. Manila, leaving by boat about midnight for southern trip.
14. Arrived in afternoon at Lucena, spending night there.
15. Morning; by automobile to Antimonan, stopping short time for reception and leaving same day by boat for Tabaco.
16. Tabaco to Legaspi by automobile; inspection of Batan coal mine, Island of Batan; return to Legaspi and Albay; afternoon and evening at Albay; left same night for Catbalogan, by boat.
17. Arrived Catbalogan afternoon, short stop; left by boat for Cebu.
18. Arrived in morning at Cebu; afternoon, inspection of railroad to Danao, returning by automobile; spent night in Cebu.
19. Cebu; inspection of railroad to Argao, returning by train to Cebu; left Cebu for Camp Overton.

1910.
Aug. 20. Arrived in morning at Camp Overton; started on overland trip to Malabang, inspecting Camp Keithley and spending night there.
21. Continued trip to Malabang, spending night there.
22. Left Malabang; trip by boat up Cotabato River to town of Cotabato; evening, left for Zamboanga.
23. Arrived on morning of August 23 at Zamboanga; left about midnight for Jolo.
24. Arrived at Jolo in morning; spent day there; left Jolo for Puerto Princesa.
26. Arrived in morning at Puerto Princesa; inspection of army post; trip up Iwahig River to Iwahig Penal Colony; evening left Puerto Princesa for Iloilo.
27. Arrived in evening at Iloilo; spent night there.
28. Iloilo; left Iloilo about noon for Capiz, arriving in Capiz in evening; left Capiz about midnight for Manila.
29. At sea.
30. Arrived in morning at Manila.
31. Manila and visit to Los Baños.
Sept. 1. Manila.
2. Manila.
3. Sailed from Manila about 5 o'clock a. m.

Practically all of the public institutions at places visited by me were examined. I went into the details of administration with as much care as the time permitted. Both in public and private audiences, opportunities were given everywhere to all who desired to freely discuss any questions with me. Several public hearings were held by previous announcement in Manila and all were free to attend. At all points visited, the army posts were inspected. I gave special attention to Corregidor and its defenses, spending a day there. In all that I said, both publicly and privately, I held steadily in view the statement made by you to the President in your special report of January 23, 1908, that—

the national policy is to govern the Philippine Islands for the benefit and welfare and uplifting of the people of the islands and gradually to extend to them, as they shall show themselves fit to exercise it, a greater and greater measure of popular self-government.

The work of preparing the Filipinos for popular self-government is steadily progressing along the lines which have been approved by you. I shall refer more particularly to the various kinds of administrative work, but will here say that the administration of the various departments is in a generally satisfactory condition, and that the best results are being attained with the means at hand and under the conditions that must be contended with.

On the whole I believe that the administration of the islands is such that it should give satisfaction to the American people.

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE.

In your report above referred to you say (p. 7):

What should be emphasized in the statement of our national policy is that we wish to prepare the Filipinos for *popular* self-government. This is plain from Mr. McKinley's letter of instructions and all of his utterances. It was not at all within his purpose or that of the Congress which made his letter part of the law of the land that we were merely to await the organization of a Philippine oligarchy or aristocracy competent to administer government and then turn the islands over to it. On the contrary, it is plain, from all of Mr. McKinley's utterances and your own, in interpretation of our national purpose, that we are the trustees and guardians of the whole Filipino people, and peculiarly of the ignorant masses, and that our trust is not discharged until those masses are given education sufficient to know their civil rights and maintain them against a more powerful class and safely to exercise the political franchise.

You also stated (p. 8):

> Another logical deduction from the main proposition is that when the Filipino people as a whole show themselves reasonably fit to conduct a popular self-government, maintaining law and order and offering equal protection of the laws and civil rights to rich and poor, and desire complete independence of the United States, they shall be given it. The standard set, of course, is not that of perfection or such a governmental capacity as that of an Anglo-Saxon people, but it certainly ought to be one of such popular political capacity that complete independence in its exercise will result in progress rather than retrogression to chaos or tyranny.

By the standard thus laid down, the Filipino people are substantially in the same attitude as when you visited them in 1907. Training in administrative work and education is doing much, but they have affected such a small percentage of the population that the change is hardly sensible.

The results will manifest themselves in a rapidly increasing ratio when those who are now being educated reach an age when their influence can be felt in public life. There are very many highly educated Filipinos, many men of talent, ability, and brilliancy, but the percentage in comparison with those who are wholly untrained in an understanding of, and the exercise of, political rights under a republican form of government is so small, and under the best and most rapid development possible under existing conditions will for a long period continue so small that it is a delusion, if the present policy of control of the islands by the American people shall continue, to encourage the Filipino people in the hope that the administration of the islands will be turned over to them within the time of the present generation. The only inhabitants of the islands that are making any marked progress in preparation for self-government are the Filipinos proper, and, as stated, but a small percentage of these are sufficiently educated to understand and administer republican institutions. The masses of them have no knowledge or conception of self-government, take no real interest in and have no knowledge of general administration, and are under the control of leaders whose will is practically their law.

Caciquism, i. e., local "bossism," is just as potential now as ever.

A keen interest is manifested in education and the people cheerfully submit to the burden of taxation imposed, both for general education and for manual training. It can not, however, be expected that mere education in schools will give that training to a people which is necessary for sustaining the fabric of a constitutional government. The Filipino people proper present the most encouraging phase of the question. They constitute about 91 per cent of the entire population of the islands. Of the remaining population, about 40 per cent are wild tribes who inhabit northern Luzon. These people have absolutely no conception of government except that of force, to which, if justly administered, they cheerfully submit. Until recently many of them were headhunters, and now they are only restrained from savage practices by military control. It is more than doubtful if any kind of training will make them capable, as a mass, of intelligently participating in the administration of self-government. Certainly no such transformation can be expected, under the most favorable conditions, within a century.

If the withdrawal by the United States from the administration of political affairs of the Filipinos shall be postponed until these people are fit for participation in self-government, then the time therefor will necessarily be in the very remote future, if it shall ever arrive.

My judgment is that if the masses of the Filipino people shall attain to that degree of fitness that will warrant the turning over to them of political autonomy, they can be entrusted to take over the control of these wild tribes, and that the realization of their own political independence should not be substantially retarded by having their political fate linked with people so backward, and comparatively so small in number, inhabiting the same island with them.

The Moro Province presents greater difficulty. There are about 500,000 Moros and Pagans living in the area confined geographically to the Sulu group, the Lake Lanao Basin, the Rio Grande Valley, and inhabiting numerous points near the mouths of small rivers and in protected bays along the coast line of the Zamboanga peninsula and the southern coast of Mindanao, reaching to the Gulf of Davao. In this area, principally in the vicinity of Zamboanga and Dapitan, with small villages at Iligan, Jolo, Cotabato, Davao, Caraga, Baganga, and Cateel, there are about 50,000 Christian Filipinos, many of whom have gone there in recent years. The Moros are Mohammedans, and are firmly fixed in their religious belief. They are warlike, manly, independent, and have a strong hostility for the Filipinos. They have no conception of a republican form of government. The only government which they know is autocratic. They are peaceful now, because they have been subjected to military power and are controlled with firmness and justice, which they appreciate. The main province of our army among the Moros is merely to keep the peace among them. They would have to be essentially re-created to make of them an integral governing part of a republican government uniting them with the Filipinos. If Filipino independence is to be postponed until such a condition can be brought about, then its realization is so remote as to make it not worth while now being contemplated. If, on the other hand, a separate government for and by the Moros be erected, it is certain that it would be but a short time before they would be taken by some other nation unless the United States should extend its protectorate over them.

Advantage was taken of the announcement of my coming by politicians, through the press and in other ways, to stimulate a general demand for immediate independence. The impression was made upon the minds of many of the masses that the Secretary of War had either the power to grant immediate independence or that recommendations made by him would result in the granting of immediate independence. In Manila and throughout my journey wherever Filipinos were established in any numbers, the result of this teaching was made manifest by the erection of numerous arches with inscriptions, either asking or demanding independence, some of them using the term "immediate independence," and by the speeches of the orators and the presentation of petitions and letters. The similarity in the movements everywhere and the form of expression indicated very clearly that a concerted campaign had been made to elicit such demonstrations. I do not mean by this to indicate that these were not exponents of their genuine feeling, for the nature of our relations to the Philippines and our purpose in respect to them as defined in all authoritative utterances are not only compatible with, but a stimulant to, the growth of such sentiments. The significant and questionable feature was that stirring up the people to such demonstrations was calculated to engender expectations as to immediate

independence which would certainly be disappointed, and thereby result in discontent with the present administration of affairs, and operate as an encouragement to those who are sowing the seeds of discord between the American Government and the Filipino people, all of which tends to retard the development for which we are striving.

Inasmuch as I promised all who addressed communications to me on the subject of Philippine independence and other matters of a public nature to bring their views and wishes directly to your attention, I append herewith a list, marked "Appendix A," setting forth the names of the petitioners and the subjects of the petitions.

I also append the report, marked "Appendix B," of the public hearing at Manila in the Marble Hall of the Ayuntamiento, on September 1, 1910, which was largely attended and attracted much notice in the public prints.

Inasmuch as they are not merely expressions of personal views, but are authoritative expressions of the two political parties in the Philippines, I call your special attention to the memorials of the Nacionalista, of the Nacionalista and Progresista parties, and of the popular Nacionalista League, attached hereto and marked Appendixes "C," "D," and "E," respectively.

There is no doubt that so far as publicly expressed, the general desire of the Filipinos is for what they denominate "immediate independence."

Those who are intelligent do not expect immediate independence, even if their views should be acceded to on the part of the American people, but rather that steps shall be taken as early as practicable which will result in the near future in turning over to the Philippine people the administration of their own affairs. While, as stated, these are the only views publicly expressed, I became convinced from reliable evidence that many of the most substantial men, while not openly opposing the demands publicly voiced, would regard such a consummation with consternation. They realize that the government would fall into the hands of a few who would dominate the masses, that the administration, even without outside interference, could not be successfully carried on, that there would be internal dissensions and probably civil war, and that if the United States did not interfere they would fall an easy prey to some foreign power.

I took prompt steps to undeceive, so far as I could, those who had formed a misapprehension either as to my power or mission, and reiterated in public speeches that the future relations between the Philippines and the United States would be determined by Congress, and that there had been no authoritative departure from the doctrines laid down by you in your utterances upon that subject when Secretary of War.

LAW AND ORDER.

At the present writing peace, law, and order prevail throughout the islands. There is no organized opposition anywhere to the United States Government. Within the last year only two outbreaks have occurred, and they were insignificant. In the island of Palawan some Moros had been lawless, and Governor Miller, now deceased, had notified them that they must surrender. After the unfortunate drowning of Governor Miller, Commissioner Worcester went to the island and he and his party were met as friends and after-

wards were treacherously attacked by these Moros. The attack was repelled, resulting in the death of 10 Moros. A number of these people were fugitives from justice from Mindanao and Borneo. There was no general outbreak.

While I was in Manila, Mandac, who had been convicted of killing and fled the country, forfeiting his bond, returned to the islands and went to the Province of Nueva Vizcaya and captured the town of Solano, looted the treasury, and carried off several priests. There was a slight engagement with the constabulary and his forces were routed. He himself was captured by the natives and turned over to the authorities, which is an evidence of good will on the part of the people toward the government.

The ladrones or robber bands are almost if not entirely suppressed. One of their leaders, Felipe Salvador, was captured while I was in Manila. His followers had long since deserted him and he was a fugitive from justice.

There is no disorder at present in the northern provinces. At Bontoc, the headhunting tribes, who a year ago were engaged in taking heads, met together while I was there, in a parade and general festivities. There have been no hostilities between these people within the last year. I talked with the chief men and they expressed themselves as satisfied with the administration of the governors of these provinces. Now that they feel safe in their lives and property they are devoting themselves with a feeling of security to agriculture and are enjoying more of the comforts of life than at any previous time. Substantially the same state of peace prevails in the Mountain and the Moro Provinces, containing the non-Christian tribes, and the same content with the government. All of these wild people have found out that the United States are not exploiting them, but that everything that is done in the way of control results to their immediate benefit, and that what is exacted from them in taxation is spent in their midst for roads, educational and other public purposes, the result of which they see and appreciate.

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Although the Legislative Assembly is controlled by the Nacionalista Party, which was organized in opposition to those who favored American control, and it was anticipated that they would use their power to obstruct administration, the result has demonstrated that responsibility steadies action. So far from raising captious opposition, they have enacted laws for the promotion of development and progress along the lines advocated by the Governor-General. They have been liberal in their support of education and internal improvements.

Laws on the following subjects were passed at the last session of the Philippine legislature:

To transfer the bureau of agriculture from the department of the interior to that of public instruction.

To increase the appropriation for current expenses of the bureau of education for the fiscal year 1910, and appropriating ₱150,000 therefor.

To provide for the construction of barrio schools upon public lands or lands of the municipal, provincial, or insular government, and to prohibit their sale or use for other than school purposes.

To establish classes for the instruction and training of male and female nurses under the supervision of the director of health.

To extend to ten years the period during which timber, firewood, resin, stone, earth, and other forest products may be cut or taken from the public forests without the payment of forestry charges.

To provide for the filing with the executive bureau of the first deed of trust, dated May 19, 1909, executed by the Manila Railroad Company in favor of the government of the Philippine Islands, and subordinating agreements, and exempting said instruments from payment of stamp taxes.

To fix the annual tax on the assessed value of the real estate of the city of Manila for 1910 at 1½ per cent.

To amend the "provincial government act" by further extending the powers of provincial governments.

To create a commissioned and enlisted service within the bureau of navigation, the creation of a pension fund in connection therewith, and for the punishment of offenses against good order and discipline within such service.

To establish a sanitarium at Sibul, Province of Bulacan.

To provide for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of Dr. José Rizal.

To authorize the appointment of high-school students as government pupils while pursuing a course of training for teaching.

To authorize the creation of special classes of superior instruction for municipal or insular teachers.

To amend the "postal savings bank" act by providing an additional class of securities for the investment of postal savings bank funds.

To confirm the action of the Governor-General in deporting from the islands certain persons of Chinese nationality.

To appropriate funds for sundry expenses of the University of the Philippines during fiscal year 1911.

To make appropriations for public works and permanent improvements.

To make appropriations for sundry expenses of the insular government for the fiscal year 1911.

To amend the act providing for the widening of streets in the municipality of Cebu.

To appropriate ₱50,000 for the relief of suffering from public calamities.

Only 2 of the 22 measures proposed by the administration were rejected.

While there were differences in the views of the Assembly and the Governor upon important questions, they did not result in any political impasse, and the administration has proceeded without obstruction in any of its branches.

Nineteen bills were presented to the Commission by the Assembly. Sixteen were approved, one was postponed until the regular session, one, referring to non-Christian provinces, and therefore not coming within the jurisdiction of the Assembly, was tabled at that session and is now up for passage by the Commission, and one providing for the remission of land and cedula taxes under certain conditions was refused passage.

I found that while the leaders of the Nacionalistas are constant and insistent in their demands for immediate independence and are constantly stimulating the masses to make declarations which are intolerant of the American administration, yet at the same time they are pursuing a broad and enlightened policy in respect of education, internal improvements, and general development.

EDUCATION.

The schools were visited by me wherever I went. At a number of places handsome, modern, well equipped, well lighted, and well aired, substantial buildings of reenforced concrete have been erected, which would be a credit to communities of like number in America. A very

deep and widespread interest is being manifested in education on the part of old and young. Children are taking a keen interest in their work. Those upon whom taxes for education are imposed cheerfully bear the burden, and so far from being in opposition to increasing the facilities for education, they heartily cooperate in the plans for extension. The children are making good progress in learning the English language.

In an audience at Capiz, where addresses were made in Spanish and English, it was manifest that English speakers were as well understood as were those who spoke in Spanish. I sought to impress upon the Philippine people that in no way could the American people take more effective steps for laying the foundations for independent government than by giving them a common language. They now have about sixteen different Malay dialects, and while Spanish is spoken among the educated it is confined to approximately 10 per cent of the entire population, and notwithstanding its long use in the islands has never become the medium of general communication. With the progress now being made, English will be understood by the next generation generally throughout the islands, and with this common means of speech will come a community of thought and action which could not be brought about in any other way.

The present law requires the use of English in the courts on and after January 1, 1913. I believe that it would be beneficial to the progress of the islands if speaking the English language should, on a date not long thereafter, be made a condition precedent to the right to hold any office filled by appointment by the Governor-General.

THE PHILIPPINE CONSTABULARY.

This is a useful and effective body of men now consisting of 322 officers and 4,451 enlisted men operating from 138 stations. The commissioned officers are generally Americans, but a number of Filipinos are also officers, and the policy is to fill vacancies by their appointment as rapidly as they meet the requirements. They are maintained much more cheaply than our American soldiers or Philippine Scouts. Their pay is less, their outfit more economical, and they subsist upon the country, thus saving the enormous cost of transportation incident to supplying the army.

Besides serving as a military force to keep order and suppress insurrection they are very efficient as auxiliaries in sanitary work, especially during epidemics. Although they do not receive the same amount of training and military discipline which the scouts do, yet they are, looking especially to their availability for sanitary work, of greater utility than the scouts. I am considering recommending the conversion of the scouts and constabulary into one body, the work to be substantially that now done by the constabulary. My present opinion is that this will result in a saving to the United States Government of about a million dollars a year and that the results achieved will on the whole be more valuable than will be brought about by maintaining separate organizations. The general idea is to muster out the scouts and turn over to the Philippine government enough money to maintain an equal number of men as constabulary, the whole constabulary force to be somewhat upon the footing of the national guards of the States. It has been roughly estimated that the amount which would be thus turned over to the Philippine gov-

ernment would be less by a million dollars than the amount now expended by the United States for the maintenance of the scouts.

In your report to the President you stated that when you were in the islands the native papers condemned the constabulary, but that during the two following years a change had taken place and that nothing was more popular in the islands than the constabulary. I am happy to say that this popularity is unabated, and that the constabulary and its administration are well intrenched in the respect and confidence of the people. The men and the native noncommissioned officers take great pride in their organization. They are well set up, efficient, keen in their work, and would be an effective force in case of foreign invasion. They conciliate constantly the people toward the administration, are learning the English language and habits, and thus are the medium of wholesome influences upon their people. I asked one of them in the Bontoc country whether or not he would stand by our flag in case of trouble with a foreign power. He answered:

Do you think I would hesitate to do that? Did I not recently in the discharge of my duty when ordered, fire upon and kill one of my own townsmen who was defying the enforcement of the law?

FRIAR LANDS.

Much notoriety has been given in Congress and in the public press to recent sales of the friar lands. These lands amounted in all to 392,000 acres. Of these 260,000 are near Manila, 25,000 are in Cebu, and 107,000 are in the provinces of Mindoro and Isabela. Six million nine hundred and thirty thousand four hundred and sixty-two dollars and seventy cents were paid for the lands, and the price was considered large. It was anticipated at the time that in disposing of them there would be loss to the Government. The purchase was made, not as a speculation nor for the purpose of distributing the lands, but as stated by you in your report, "on political grounds and for the purpose of bringing on tranquillity."

The question of distribution was only incidental to the sale and reimbursement. The main reason for the purchase was to eliminate the friars as landholders. Inasmuch as the Philippine government had burdened itself with a bonded debt drawing interest to get rid of these pernicious landholders, it seemed perfectly plain that it would be following the dictates of common sense to dispose of the unoccupied lands as soon as possible on the most advantageous terms. When the proposal was made to purchase the Mindoro estate at a figure fully reimbursing the government for the cost of the land, with interest and cost of survey and administration added, I could see no good reason why the sale should not be made. I shall not go into the question of the legality of the sale. The opinion of the Attorney-General certainly was sufficient to warrant the administration in making the sale. The island of Mindoro contains 3,851 square miles and 28,361 inhabitants, which is less than 8 persons to the square mile. It is practically undeveloped. There was no demand by any inhabitants there for these lands. It is not probable that they would have been taken up by any inhabitants at any time in the near future. There are hundreds of thousands of other acres of wild lands in the island of Mindoro just as valuable and fully as capable of being used for the culture of cane as are these lands. Lands can be gotten there from the government

for a price cheaper than that paid for the Mindoro estate. There are over 20,000,000 acres of public lands fit for agriculture in the islands and inducements upon the most favorable terms are offered to the inhabitants to take them up.

Unless the Mindoro estate had been sold as a whole to people capable of handling and developing it, it is not probable that the lands could have been disposed of at any time in the near future. At the rate of interest the bonds draw, the cost of the lands would in thirty years, when the bonds mature, have represented more than treble the original cost. The Philippine government needs its resources for internal improvements, and it would have been poor financiering to pay interest on the bonds and finally the principal and continue to hold these lands until they would be taken up by inhabitants of the islands, which would mean in the remote future.

The main opposition to the sale of these friar lands in large bodies in the Philippines is based upon opposition to the investment of any foreign capital, and especially American capital, in the islands. The opinion is held by those who mainly voice this opposition that the investing of foreign capital, and especially American capital, in the Philippines will in time develop such a demand for the continuance of American control as will tend to postpone, if not effectually destroy, the realization of Philippine independence.

The thought is that the power so exerted would be sufficient to dominate Congress and make the American people change the policy hitherto declared "to govern the Philippine Islands for the benefit and welfare and uplifting of the people of the islands and gradually to extend to them, as they shall show themselves fit to exercise it, a greater and greater measure of popular self-government," * * * and "that when the Filipino people as a whole show themselves reasonably fit to conduct a popular self-government, maintaining law and order and offering equal protection of the laws and civil rights to rich and poor, and desire complete independence of the United States, they shall be given it."

Inasmuch as the charges publicly made in Congress and in the public prints involved, besides the general question of sale, the conduct of certain officers in the Philippines, I made an investigation in respect to these, feeling that I had a duty to perform independent of any action of Congress, and that if these officers had been guilty of any misconduct it was not only the right but the duty of the administration to deal with them without waiting for congressional action. These charges involved F. W. Carpenter, Executive Secretary, and Dean C. Worcester, one of the Commissioners. I called upon Governor-General Forbes, Mr. Carpenter, and Mr. Worcester for a statement of the facts, and sought in other ways, and especially by calling on Filipinos who were opposed to the sale of the Mindoro and Isabela estates, for information as to any official misconduct on the part of either Mr. Worcester or Mr. Carpenter.

I learned nothing whatever detrimental to the character of either of these men. I found that there was considerable opposition to Mr. Worcester, growing mainly out of an abruptness of manner in official relations. In this way he had offended some people and aroused their opposition. Several of such people spoke to me of this, but upon being asked the direct question they said that they knew of nothing affecting the integrity of his action.

Ordinarily it is invidious to single out some officials for commendation, but in view of the attack which has been made upon these men, I feel that it is right to give the result of my inquiry.

I refrained from any close association with, and reserved judgment as to, them, until I had exhausted all sources of information. Based on all that I could learn, my judgment is that they are honest, faithful, capable men, devoted to their work, and that it would be a loss to the Government if anything should withdraw them from the public service. Mr. Worcester has a more general and more exact knowledge of the Philippine Islands, their fauna, flora, resources, and inhabitants, than any other man, without exception. He is a mine of useful and practical information, which he is constantly turning to account for the benefit of the islands. Having a liberal education and a technical education, he has applied himself with great industry and devotion to a study of the Philippine Islands. He has seriously impaired his health in this work. While he has cultivated the *fortiter in re*, rather than the *suaviter in modo*, and thus has made for himself opposition, the real good accomplished by him so far outweighs any objections that might be raised to his somewhat aggressive ways, that the latter are far outweighed in the general account. Though not directly stated, the inference was drawn from the charges made that he as secretary of the interior had approved an unlawful sale of some of the friar lands to his nephew, E. L. Worcester. Mr. E. L. Worcester never purchased an acre of the friar lands. He did lease some public lands, but in the amount authorized by law and at the prices paid for such lands by other people. He had a right to lease these lands and his uncle had no right as secretary of the interior to deprive him of the right to lease them. I found no evidence that Secretary Worcester is interested directly or indirectly in these lands. He stated positively that he was not. I did not hear anyone in the Philippines say that he was. When the application to lease these lands was made, the fact was brought to the attention of Governor Smith. There was no secrecy whatever about it. I found no complaint among Filipinos as to the lease of these lands. Their complaints applied to the sale of the friar lands, and especially the Isabela and Mindoro estates, but not to that part of the friar lands purchased by Mr. Carpenter. The purchase was made by Mr. Carpenter not only with the knowledge but at the instance of the Governor-General. He paid the full price provided for under the law. He has not dispossessed any Filipino. On the contrary, after his contract was made, he permitted Filipinos to come in and participate in his purchase. None of his official duties were in any way connected with the administration or sale of these lands. I do not favor public officials from America in the Philippines purchasing public lands, but I find that it has hitherto been the policy of the administration to encourage investments by employees in the islands. So far from finding any objections on the part of Filipinos to the purchase by Mr. Carpenter, everyone with whom I spoke in regard to it, and I spoke with many of the leading men, entirely approved of it. In such conversations they took occasion to voluntarily bear testimony to the high character and standing of Mr. Carpenter, their confidence in his integrity, his usefulness in the public service, and to the valuable offices which he had performed in maintaining good relations between Filipinos and Americans. Upon the question of his pur-

chase, I received a letter from Hon. Manuel Quezon, Resident Commissioner, as follows:

MANILA, *August 12, 1910.*

MR. SECRETARY:

I have read carefully Mr. Frank W. Carpenter's reply to the allegations made against him in Congress recently in regard to the lease and purchase by him of friar lands, and, complying with your request for an expression of opinion as to the truth of Mr. Carpenter's statements, I beg to say that I am convinced that they are true.

Furthermore, I beg to confirm all I have stated orally to you regarding the confidence and respect in which the Filipino people hold Mr. Carpenter, officially and personally.

Respectfully yours,

MANUEL L. QUEZON,
Resident Commissioner to the United States for the Philippines.

To the honorable the SECRETARY OF WAR,
Manila, P. I.

The following letter from Mr. Osmeña, the speaker of the Assembly, indicates Mr. Carpenter's standing with the Filipinos:

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS,
OFFICE OF THE SPEAKER, PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY,
Manila, August 30, 1910.

SIR: I have the honor of confirming, by the present, the information that, replying to your inquiries, I have personally given you with reference to the conduct, character and reputation of Mr. Frank W. Carpenter, Executive Secretary.

Mr. Carpenter enjoys the highest esteem and confidence among the Filipinos. As an official and as a gentleman he has responded at all times to the best hopes and while he has sustained, and does sustain now, close relations with the Filipinos, his conduct as an official may be presented as a model of intelligence, integrity and zeal. It is known of all that Mr. Carpenter devotes to public affairs time and attention much greater than are customarily given to such matters, not failing to work for a number of hours on legal holidays. His official bearing with all those who in whatever way have had any connection with his office has heightened the regard for him as a man of rare penetration and activity and have gained for him, and with reason, those active sympathies which beyond respect are given to persons who, on compliance with a duty, do it with the generous interest which can only be felt by those who, entirely devoted to their public offices, find a satisfaction in remembering that they are servants of the public and that they must conduct themselves as such.

With respect to the public and private morality of Mr. Carpenter, I do not believe there is anyone, among Filipinos at least, that has not the highest concept of him. Filipinos have complete confidence in Mr. Carpenter and his fruitful labor of the present, which can only be compared with his distinguished past service, constitutes a legitimate and elevated record of honesty, efficiency and patriotism.

Permit me, Mr. Secretary, to be,
Very respectfully, yours,

SERGIO OSMEÑA,
Speaker, Philippine Assembly.

Hon. JACOB MCG. DICKINSON,
Secretary of War.

On January 1, 1910, Commissioner Worcester, secretary of the interior, approved the lease of approximately 47,000 acres of the Isabela estate, with option to purchase this estate, to Edward B. Bruce, of Manila. This estate consisted of approximately 49,500 acres. The sale price fixed was ₱422,500, Philippine currency, together with interest thereon at the rate of 4 per cent per annum from and including the 1st day of January, 1910, the payment of the purchase price or installments thereof, together with all interests accruing thereon, to be made in accordance with the provisions of the friar-land act as amended. This sale price included the cost to the Government together with all charges for interest and administration.

This Isabela estate is one of the practically unoccupied estates purchased from the friars, and is situated in a sparsely settled part of the center of the island of Luzon.

At the time the contracts were made for sales in large amounts of these friar lands it was not supposed that objection would be raised

thereto. The idea was to handle this, in so far as these vacant lands were concerned, as a business proposition.

In so much, however, as opposition has been declared and Congress has provided for an investigation of this matter, no more sales of these lands in large quantities will be authorized until the situation is cleared up.

Reports covering this matter in full by Governor-General Forbes, Secretary of the Interior Worcester, and Executive Secretary Carpenter, have been prepared and submitted to me. These reports were printed in Manila.

I also attach a letter (marked "Appendix F") from Resident Commissioner Quezon, which gives concisely the prevailing Filipino view of the land question.

FILIPINIZATION OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

In your special report of 1908, under the heading "Civil service," you say:

> Still in many of the bureaus the progress of Filipinos to the most responsible places is necessarily slow and the proportion of them to be found in positions of high salaries is not as large as it ought to be in the near future. The winnowing out process, however, is steadily reducing the American employees in the civil service.

One of the demands most urgently brought to my attention was that the work of increasing the proportion of the Filipino employees is not being pressed, and that, especially in the higher salaries, there is discrimination against Filipino employees. The Filipinos bear the burden of government and should, so far as is consistent with proper administration and the maintenance of the present attitude of the United States in the government of the islands, be given a preference in employment. While in the beginning and for a long while thereafter it was necessary to pay American employees such salaries as would induce them to leave their homes, go to a distant country and incur the inconvenience incident to life there, and while it was sound policy to pay higher salaries to American employees, I see no reason why such course should be indefinitely continued. In my judgment the time has come when for the same efficiency and for the same class of work done by new employees salaries should be fixed for the places and they should be filled by competent persons without discrimination as between Filipinos and Americans.

In your special report in 1907 you showed that there were 2,616 Americans and 3,902 Filipinos employed. On January 1, 1910, there were employed 2,633 Americans and 4,639 Filipinos.

Below is a table showing a comparison of the number of American and Filipino officers and employees having a permanent status in the service and the salaries paid on January 1 of the years given:

Year.	Officers and employees.		Salaries paid.		Average salaries.	
	Americans.	Filipinos.	Americans.	Filipinos.	Americans.	Filipinos.
1907	2,616	3,902	₱7,869,242	₱3,234,494	₱3,008.12	₱828.93
1908	2,479	4,080	7,749,236	3,686,855	3,125.95	903.64
1909	2,659	4,397	8,576,962	4,018,988	3,225.63	914.03
1910	2,633	4,639	8,755,486	4,296,896	3,325.29	926.25

It will be seen that since 1907, when you made your special report, there has been, up to January 1, 1910, an increase of 17 in the number of American and of 737 in that of Filipino employees, and that there has been an increase of $443,122 in the amount paid American and of $531,201 in that paid to Filipino employees, an increase in the average salaries paid to Americans of $158.59 and in those to Filipinos of $48.66.

The following table shows the percentage of American and Filipino employees and the percentage of salaries paid to them for the years mentioned, and the increase and decrease in the number of Americans and Filipinos employed between the years 1903 and 1910, also the increase and decrease in the number of Americans and Filipinos employed in the years 1909 and 1910:

Year.	Employees.		Salaries.	
	Americans.	Filipinos.	Americans.	Filipinos.
	Per cent.	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*	*Per cent.*
1907	40	60	71	29
1908	38	62	68	32
1909	38	62	68	32
1910	36	64	67	33

	Per cent.
1903–1910:	
Decrease in number of Americans	5.2
Increase in number of Filipinos	72.0
Increase in salaries of Americans	21.0
Increase in salaries of Filipinos	96.3
Increase in average salaries of Americans	27.6
Increase in average salaries of Filipinos	14.1
1909–1910:	
Decrease in number of Americans	1.0
Increase in number of Filipinos	5.5
Increase in salaries of Americans	2.1
Increase in salaries of Filipinos	6.9
Increase in average salaries of Americans	3.1
Increase in average salaries of Filipinos	1.3

During the past year the Philippine government has called on the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs to send out American stenographers and deck officers. This demand might have been anticipated and Filipinos educated for both of these purposes, as they are exceedingly apt for both classes of service. The general question was taken up with the Governor-General and the heads of departments and bureaus. It is the fixed policy of the administration to proceed as rapidly as the good of the service will permit in increasing the Filipino employees, and I am satisfied that there will be a hearty cooperation upon the part of all. The Governor-General has always favored this course.

I call special attention to the bureau of printing, which is operating all kinds of modern machines and is doing the highest class of work in printing and binding. In this department there are 348 employees of whom 318 are Filipinos. It is true that this, on account of the nature of the work, can not be taken as a standard for other departments and bureaus.

Within the last year it has been necessary to employ Americans on account of the requirement for experts to contend with the rinderpest and expert surveyors and engineers for public works.

In the municipal service in the year 1910 there are 102 Americans and 12,417 Filipinos employed.

I append as a part of my report a table, marked "Appendix G," showing, for the several years set out, the number of Americans and Filipinos employed in the various services therein mentioned.

Without a careful analysis of these tables one might get a false impression of the extent to which the government of the islands has been Filipinized during the period covered by them. They show the increase of Filipinos in the civil service of the islands, but it should be observed that in the period covered by these tables the number of Filipino members of the Commission has been increased 33⅓ per cent, the number of judges of first instance by 100 per cent, and there has been created the Philippine Assembly, an elective body composed exclusively of Filipinos.

To-day four of the nine members of the Philippine Commission, which constitutes the upper house of the legislature, are Filipinos. The entire lower house is composed of Filipinos. In the executive departments the important portfolio of finance and justice is held by a Filipino. Three of the seven justices of the supreme court, including the chief justice thereof, are Filipinos, and ten of the twenty judges of first instance are Filipinos, while practically all the lower judicial officers are Filipinos.

ARTESIAN WELLS.

A wonderful change in health conditions has been brought about by the procurement of wholesome water through artesian wells. This work was in its inception when you were in the islands in 1907 and has steadily progressed, until now there are in operation 429 wells. A marked improvement has been shown in the health conditions where these waters have been used. The people everywhere appreciate them and are anxious for them. It seems that no water can be found at Iloilo. A number of experiments there have failed.

ANIMAL DISEASES.

RINDERPEST.

In many portions of the islands, especially in Batangas, Pangasinan, Cebu, and Occidental Negros, the industry of agriculture was almost prostrated through the loss of work animals by rinderpest. A specific preventive by inoculation has been found effectual, and the disease is well under control.

At the stock farm at Alabang a herd of about 900 cattle is maintained under the care of experts. All have been inoculated and are immune against rinderpest, and sufficient serum is now constantly obtained for shipment wherever demanded throughout the islands. In addition to the annual appropriation, there was made in November, 1909, a special appropriation of 210,000 pesos for this work. Too much can not be said in praise of the thoroughly scientific manner in which it is carried on. The results have been most gratifying, and by the arrestation of the disease, the natural increase of draft animals, and the importation from other countries which is being carried on under strict quarantine regulations, we can expect that within a year or two the supply of work animals will be adequate. Much more vigorous quarantine regulations obtain than formerly. It is now evident that the disease will be stamped out.

SURRA.

This disease is fatal to horses. It attacks but does not kill carabao and Indian bulls. So far no cure for it except in rare cases has been discovered. Experiments are being made for the purpose of finding a remedy, and our experts are hopeful of ultimate success.

ROADS.

There has been a marked development in the disposition of the people throughout the islands to exert themselves and to assume tax burdens for the purpose of securing good roads. The provincial board of each province has decided to levy the cedula tax and to apply the proceeds to the construction and maintenance of roads. While there is a great contrast between the roads maintained by the municipalities and those maintained by the insular government, yet there has been in recent years an increase in the care bestowed by the municipal governments upon their roads. The caminero system has been established with good results.

There are now in the islands 3,100 miles of roads under the administration of municipalities, 862 miles of first class under control of the provinces and 46 miles under that of the insular government. The roads maintained by the provinces and insular government can generally be compared favorably with the good roads of any country, and some of them are as good as could be desired anywhere. This is especially true of the provinces of Pangasinan and Albay, the former having recently taken the prize of ₱10,000 offered for the best constructed and maintained roads.

Many miles of mountain trails of easy grade have been constructed. I passed over the one from a point 5 miles from Tagudin to Bontoc, that portion from Cervantes to Bontoc being entirely new and just opened. While there is not much commerce to pass over these trails, as the people in those sections consume almost all that they produce, yet it may be expected that with the continuance of peace and the further development of agriculture there will be an increasing surplus put upon the market.

These trails promote intercourse between people of the various sections and in that way have a civilizing influence. They afford a ready way for the movement of troops to sections hitherto almost inaccessible. The wild people have great respect for and attach a sort of sanctity to them, which is manifested by the fact that people passing over them are, I am told, never molested. The initial cost was comparatively small, owing to the cheapness of the labor, all of which was performed by the wild men of the Mountain Province, many of whom gave ten days of free labor, and to the skill developed by those directing the work, but the maintenance on account of the torrential rains will probably be a constant and expensive burden.

LEPERS.

The work of segregating the lepers has proceeded to the point that now there are but few who have not been transported to the island of Culion. It is the opinion of Dr. Victor G. Heiser, who has this work

in charge, that within a generation or two the disease will have practically disappeared from the islands. There are at present about 3,000 in the colony. But little opposition is now made to the removal of those who are affected with the disease. While this brings distress, it is nevertheless generally recognized that it is for the common good and that those who have the misfortune to be afflicted must bear the sacrifice which fate has forced upon them.

A large up-to-date hospital of reenforced concrete has just been completed. Six Sisters of Charity have devoted themselves to the work of nursing. Apparent cures have been effected by the use of chaulmoogra oil, and it is hoped that it will be demonstrated to be a specific.

LANDS IN MANILA OCCUPIED FOR ARMY PURPOSES.

There is a controversy of long standing between military and civil authorities in regard to the use of certain property for army purposes in Manila. It appears that a basis of settlement was reached some years ago that was then regarded as mutually acceptable, but it was not put in such form as to be binding and has never been consummated.

There should be an early and final adjustment of this matter, for it seriously affects the development of the city of Manila and involves the determination of a policy in regard to the army establishment at Manila. As some of the proposed changes will require the surrender by the army of buildings which it now uses, these can not be effected until provision has been made for other accommodations, and this will require the construction of buildings at large cost, and therefore congressional action. The Governor-General, representing the civil government, and General Duvall, representing the army, presented their respective views. As to some important points there is agreement, providing Congress shall provide the necessary buildings. As to other points there are differences which must be settled by higher authority. The papers are too voluminous to incorporate in this report. After going over the questions with the Chief of Staff, who is familiar with the conditions there, I will present a plan of settlement embodying such provisions as may require congressional action.

I carefully examined the various properties in person—first in company with the Governor-General and afterwards in company with General Duvall—and am therefore in position to form my own judgment in regard to them.

PENAL INSTITUTIONS.

PENAL COLONY.

A visit was made by me to the penal colony at Iwahig, on the island of Palawan. Though an audacious experiment, it has in the results attained fully justified the expectations of the wise forecast that inaugurated it. It is one of the most interesting and attractive places in the islands. The spectacle of some thousand criminals living together on a penal reservation of 270 square miles in peace and carrying on industrial and agricultural pursuits under an administration largely controlled by themselves is wonderful. The con-

victs there are those who have earned the privilege of going there by good behavior at Bilibid during a certain period.

The administration is under Governor John H. Evans and the immediate superintendency of Carroll H. Lamb. Discipline is administered by the convicts themselves, who elect their own judges and make their own laws. In their jury trials a majority convict. The superintendent has a right to veto any measure. Lawbreakers are flogged or locked up, or, in extreme cases, sent back to Bilibid, this latter being regarded as the most severe punishment.

The grounds are beautifully laid out and are adorned with ornamental flowers and plants, all of the work being done by the colonists. The sanitary conditions are excellent.

Many of the colonists who have passed certain grades of probation have taken up land, upon which they reside and which they cultivate; and these men, if they wish, may bring their wives and families to live with them. Marriage also is permitted among the colonists. Six marriages had occurred during the preceding year, the women coming to the colony to live with their husbands. At the time of my visit there were about 42 women in the colony.

Farming is done on shares. The superintendent receives half for the general funds and the other half belongs to the convict. The farming is done under the direction and control of the superintendent. Those living on farms report periodically at headquarters for inspection, and their farms also are regularly inspected. There are now about 149 separate holdings.

There was a display of the products of the colony, showing a great variety of fruits, vegetables, and staples. It is the purpose so to develop the production as to make the colony the source of supply of food products for Bilibid Prison in Manila. Already it is sending some products there.

The colonists raise their own meat and substantially everything that they consume, and it is hoped that in time there will be a sufficient surplus to furnish the meat supply for Bilibid and also to contribute to the meat supply of the army. Now the main supply of meat to the Philippines comes from Australia.

The success at Iwahig in raising beef cattle will tend to stimulate like efforts in other parts of the islands. There is no reason why, with the native grasses which grow in great abundance in some of the islands and are well adapted for beef cattle, that the islands should not in time be able to dispense with all importation of meat. The cattle at Iwahig are raised from native cows and Indian bulls.

The colonists also maintain a fishery, which abundantly supplies all the inhabitants.

As an illustration of the confidence reposed in them, the engineer of the boat upon which we went from Puerto Princesa to Iwahig was under condemnation, and three of the four house servants of Superintendent Lamb, one of them having charge of his children, were convicted murderers. He told me that he traveled constantly day and night, discharging the duties of his office, inspecting the most remote farms, and that he had never borne an arm since he had been on the island.

The convicts may remain in the colony after they have been pardoned or have completed their sentence. Those remaining are subject to its laws.

PRISONS.

I carefully inspected the prisons, examining all parts of them, at Manila and wherever I went, except at Zamboanga, and as to the one there I had a report that it was of an exceptionally high order in respect to cleanliness and sanitation.

It gives me great pleasure to report that the cleanliness, sanitary provisions, ventilation, and food and its preparation are beyond criticism. The contrast between the prisons as conducted under Spanish and American administration presents one of the most striking changes in the islands.

In only one place did I see an objectionable condition, and that was in an addition that had been recently made without proper ventilation. Governor-General Forbes has already taken the matter in hand and it will be rectified. This was at Iloilo.

The prisons in the Philippines might well be taken as models of cleanliness by many of our cities and States.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.

The following table shows the condition of the finances of the Philippine government and that they are satisfactory.

On May 31, 1910, the surplus to the credit of the insular government comprised the following items:

Friar lands bond sinking fund	$795,271.36
Public works and permanent improvements bonds sinking fund	441,460.47
Unexpended premium, public works and permanent improvements bonds	4,537.60
Due from Philippine Railway Company, account interest advanced	372,466.64
Investments from appropriated surplus	283,342.24
Assurance fund, Act No. 496	24,011.74
Loan to city of Manila, account Luneta extension	25,000.00
Moro Province account current	20,081.99
Working surplus:	
Cash	4,733,633.95
Accounts receivable	781,240.81
Total	7,481,046.80

The gold standard fund on that date had a balance to its credit of $9,491,344.99.

The total bonded indebtedness on May 31, 1910, was—

Insular:	
Friar lands bonds	$7,000,000.00
Public works bonds	5,000,000.00
City of Manila:	
Sewer and waterworks bonds	4,000,000.00
Total	16,000,000.00

On July 31, 1910, of the 397,000 acres purchased with the proceeds of the friar lands bonds, 123,680 acres have been sold, but with deferred payments, so that the government had as yet received but a small part of the purchase price. The remainder, including much of the most valuable land, is still to be sold.

AGRICULTURAL BANK.

The good anticipated from the creation of the Agricultural Bank has not been realized. Owing to the delay in establishing title under the Torrens system, which is the basis of the credit to be extended by the bank, but few loans have been made. The capital is too small to bring about any substantial result. The fixed charges for administering a bank with a capital of $500,000 are as great as they would be for one much larger. Unless the bank shall establish more agencies at central points where loans can be negotiated with the minimum of expense to borrowers, the utility of the bank will fail or will be confined to a comparatively small area.

At a public hearing in Manila on September 1, 1910, Mr. Leocadio Joaquin thus presented the difficulties, some of which are, however, erroneous:

We all know that the basis of every government is founded on a good condition of agriculture and that the basis of every country or people also rests on agriculture. Unfortunately, Mr. Secretary, for more than ten years past the Philippines have been sighing and groaning under a frightful burden due to the deplorable condition of our agriculture. The representatives of the United States have sought the most practical means to find a cure for this condition of affairs, and as a remedy they have found the establishment of an Agricultural Bank. In theory, the bank has had apparently a brilliant success, but in practice it is really a dead letter. The Agricultural Bank has no branches in the provinces or municipalities. It makes its loans from the Manila headquarters. It has encountered many obstacles in reaching the agriculturist so that it is impossible for him to secure any money from said bank. As an essential requisite, as an indispensable one, is the furnishing of a Torrens title to land, a title which has been made legal by the enactment of the land registration act. As this law was but recently enacted, most of our lands have not Torrens titles, but have titles that were derived from the Spanish Government or under Spanish law. At the present time there are many difficulties in the way of obtaining a Torrens title. There are many minute requirements on the part of the Bureau of Lands relating to the making of plans. This is a requirement which paralyzes the work, as there are very few agriculturists who can get these plans. Before the enactment of a recent law, which regulates the practice of surveying in the islands, there were over a thousand surveyors who were duly qualified by colleges and institutions of learning as such. This law, which was enacted about two years ago, has disqualified all of these qualified surveyors, who, as I have already said, numbered over a thousand, and I can now assure Your Honor that there are probably not more than one hundred qualified-by-the-government surveyors at the present time in the Islands. They are the only persons who are competent to survey land, whose plans will be admitted by the Court of Land Registration in the acquisition of Torrens titles. This, then, is the first obstacle that a man finds who is not in possession of a Torrens title, in the making of the plans, survey of the land, etc.

In addition to the other obstacles that are put in the way of the survey of the land by the bureau of lands, this fact alone, this lack of surveyors is of itself sufficient to make it impossible or at least very difficult for the agriculturist to acquire a Torrens title.

If all of these obstacles are obviated and a Torrens title is acquired, a landowner, in Surigao, for example, after making a trip of from eight to sixteen days in order to secure a loan from the Agricultural Bank in Manila, and after negotiating with the bank will be able to secure only one-tenth of the value of the property as a loan. That is to say, if the property is worth ₱10,000,[a] he may secure a loan for ₱1,000. As you can understand, a property owner who has property worth ₱10,000 can scarcely hope to find a remedy for his present condition by the loan of ₱1,000. Really, we do not understand why, the restriction being so great as regards the amount of the loan that will be given with relation to the value of the property, there are so many other restrictions, if it is the purpose of the bank to find a cure for the present conditions of affairs as regards agriculture.

It is for this reason that scarcely one-tenth of the arable lands of the Philippines are under cultivation.

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[a] One peso, Philippine currency, is equivalent to 50 cents United States currency.

Delay has been occasioned by the inadequacy of skilled surveyors to survey lands for establishing titles. For this reason the work of making loans has proceeded slowly.

The bank was opened for business on October 1, 1908. Up to the 30th day of June, 1910, the number of applications received from each province was as follows:

Ambos Camarines	25	Misamis	22
Albay	49	Mindoro	3
Antique	2	Moro	4
Bataan	13	Nueva Ecija	34
Batangas	3	Nueva Vizcaya	2
Benguet	1	Negros Occidental	54
Bohol	2	Negros Oriental	4
Bulacan	30	Palawan	1
Capiz	6	Pampanga	21
Cagayan	3	Pangasinan	71
Cavite	5	Rizal	11
Cebu	2	Samar	5
Ilocos Norte	5	Sorsogon	7
Ilocos Sur	10	Tarlac	88
Iloilo	8	Tayabas	4
Isabela	30	Union	8
Laguna	11	Zambales	2
Leyte	15		
Manila city	4	Total	565

Of the 565 applications, 453 were refused, principally on account of defective titles.

The total amount loaned up to June 30, 1910, aggregated ₱284,450 ($142,225). The law limits the amount which can be loaned on property to 40 per cent of its value.

An agency of the bank has been established at Zamboanga.

RAILROADS.

I personally inspected the following lines: Those of the Manila Railroad Company from San Fabian to Camp One, 12.23 miles; from Dagupan to Manila, 122.15 miles; and from Manila to Los Baños, 40 miles; of the Philippine Railway Company from Cebu to Danao, and from Cebu to Carcar, a total of 60 miles, and from Iloilo to Capiz, 71 miles.

All of them were well constructed and well maintained. The roadbed, ties, and bridges were in first-rate condition. I was particularly impressed by the effort being made by the management of the Philippine Railway Company in Cebu and Panay to promote agricultural progress along its lines. At every station there is an exhibit of the products, and instructions are published for the best methods of agriculture. They have induced large planting of maguey upon lands not well adapted for other crops. A strong effort is being made to build up the agricultural industry in sections tributary to its lines, thus laying the foundation not only for its own prosperity, but for that of the people.

I was particularly impressed with the shops of the company at Iloilo, which are extensive and of a high order. The machinery is all modern. Except the foremen, the operatives are Filipinos. They show a high degree of industry and capacity for mechanical work. These shops represent a large part of the cost of the road and their

construction account should be distributed over the road in estimating its cost per mile.

The number of miles of road now in operation by the Philippine Railway Company is 131 and that by the Manila Railroad Company 362.

The Philippine people take deep interest in railroad construction, appreciate the benefits therefrom, and are eager for extensions. At public meetings at Albay and Legaspi I was urged to bring about the speedy building of the road from Batangas through Lucena to Albay.

The original contract with the Manila Railroad Company did not call for any guaranty, but by a subsequent agreement the company is to construct some 150 miles of additional track and the Philippine government is to guarantee interest on first-lien bonds of the lines south of Manila and also on the extension to Baguio, subject to the annual contingent liability fixed by Congress.

The guaranteed system is to consist of the following lines, viz:

Southern or guaranteed system.

	Miles.
Belt Line	6.0
Manila-Batangas-Bauan	67.8
Port Line Batangas	.9
Spur Camp McGrath	1.1
Cavite Short Line and Naic extension	32.7
Calamba-Magdalena-Santa Cruz	30.0
Santo Tomas-Lucena	39.3
East coast extension and connection between the line now under construction in Tayabas Province and that in Ambos Camarines (estimated)	135.0
Legaspi-Nueva Caceres	60.7
Nueva Caceres north	7.0
Pili-Lagonoy	31.0
Legaspi-Tabaco extension	19.3
Port Line Legaspi	.7
Port Line Tabaco	.8
Ligao east	4.0
Tabaco west	4.0
Camp No. 1-Baguio	22.0
New port connection, Manila	2.0
Total length of guaranteed system in Luzon	464.3

Construction is proceeding as rapidly as practicable. The survey is now in progress on the Benguet road. From such investigation as I was able to make, I am of the opinion that the road from Camp Number One to Baguio can be constructed on a route which will involve less expense than hitherto was contemplated.

Bonds on which interest is guaranteed by the Philippine government have been issued as follows:

By the Philippine Railway Company	$7,835,000
By the Manila Railroad Company	2,108,000

All of the lines will probably in time become paying properties, but some of them must await very extensive development and increase of commerce, which they will promote.

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS.

The foreign business of the islands has greatly increased since 1907, notwithstanding the prostration suffered by the main industry, agriculture, on account of the loss of work animals by rinderpest. By far the greatest increment has been during the last year, and this is directly due to the operation of the Payne bill. The prices for sugar and tobacco products have largely increased, and these industries are in a flourishing condition. The price of labor has also increased.

If modern culture and machinery shall be introduced, thus insuring the maximum of crops and their yield of marketable products, the sugar industry will be yet more profitable and largely increased, and that without an increase of sugar acreage. A first-class plant of the most modern type is being erected upon the Mindoro estate. This will prove an object lesson and will lead to the abandonment of old methods and the waste incident to them.

The following table shows the value of exports and imports for the years set out:

Fiscal year.	Imports.	Exports.
1906	$25,799,290	$31,918,542
1907	28,786,063	33,721,767
1908	30,918,745	32,829,816
1909	27,794,482	31,044,458
1910	37,061,925	39,886,852

Since 1904 the balance of trade has been in favor of the Philippines.

Value of imported commodities with proportion from the United States shown separately, fiscal years 1909 and 1910.

Commodities.	1909.		1910.	
	Total.	United States.	Total.	United States.
Wheat flour	$1,172,322	$601,947	$1,534,442	$1,098,823
Cars, carriages, and other vehicles	168,520	45,652	331,637	197,004
Cement	247,425	276	416,815	103,078
Chemicals, drugs, and dyes	440,207	106,666	539,743	193,713
Cotton, and manufactures of	6,944,978	590,635	8,522,307	2,120,587
Fish and fish products, including shellfish	332,710	86,987	612,765	338,631
Iron and steel, and manufactures of	1,933,032	818,548	3,305,695	1,970,490
Leather, and manufactures of	494,138	354,185	760,463	575,730
Meat and dairy products	2,176,943	221,266	2,377,466	333,298
Oil, illuminating	614,334	386,692	1,142,250	942,734
Paints, pigments, and colors	130,941	18,300	217,039	91,823
Paper, and manufactures of	457,543	120,339	638,833	227,951
Tobacco, and manufactures of	38,294	2,211	208,475	177,627
Miscellaneous	12,643,095	1,340,127	16,453,995	2,404,639
Total	27,794,482	4,693,831	37,061,925	10,776,128

HEALTH AND SANITATION.

Progress in promoting better health conditions has gone steadily on. Except for care in the use of water and uncooked vegetables and during the hot hours, life is pursued in Manila just as in the United States.

The official census of 1903 showed the population of the city of Manila as 219,941. The health department census of 1910 gives the following population of the city of Manila:

Americans	4,174
Filipinos	211,859
Spaniards	2,364
Other Europeans	644
Chinese	14,093
All others	1,275
Total	234,409

For the quarter ended June 30, 1910, the death rate among people thus classified was as follows (annual average per 1,000):

Americans	13.38
Filipinos	33.24
Spaniards	18.54
Other Europeans	11.91
Chinese	16.22
All others	15.46
Average	31.57

It is thus seen that the death rate of Americans and Europeans living in Manila compares favorably with the rate among such people in any of our American and European cities of equal size. The death rate among the Filipinos and Oriental people living in Manila compares in a like favorable manner with the death rate among Oriental people in any of the Asiatic cities.

The large death rate among the Filipinos in Manila is still largely due to the great death rate among children under 3 years of age. Though much progress has been made in improving this condition, there yet remains a great deal to be done. While I was there an association was formed to begin an active campaign against tuberculosis.

During the period of my stay in the islands the general health conditions were good. In Pangasinan and other places cholera had prevailed, but it had been almost entirely stamped out when I went through that province. Wherever artesian water is used this and other diseases of the stomach and bowels no longer prevail.

The department of health is excellently administered. Some complaints were made to me, but on investigation I was satisfied that they were not well founded and that some of them arose from opposition of medical men who had not adjusted themselves to the new order of things.

The condition of our soldiers in the Philippines is good. The men appear healthy and vigorous.

The following table shows a comparison between localities:

Numerical view of the effect of disease and injury on United States troops serving at home and abroad in the year 1909, compared with corresponding data for the year 1908, by countries—Proportionate numbers per thousand.

American troops (enlisted).		Mean strength.	Admitted.			Discharged on surgeon's certificate of disability.		
			Total.	Disease.	Injury.	Total.	Disease.	Injury.
United States	1909	57,124	1,024.37	821.77	202.59	18.87	17.01	1.87
	1908	46,316	1,148.59	921.91	226.68	21.35	19.15	2.21
Alaska	1909	1,064	390.04	281.95	108.08	4.36	.87	3.49
	1908	1,015	419.70	270.94	148.77	3.67	2.75	.92
Cuba	1909	604	798.01	672.19	125.83	3.31	3.31	.....
	1908	4,694	1,201.75	949.30	252.45	21.46	20.83	.63
Philippine Islands	1909	12,844	1,348.02	1,156.49	191.53	11.43	10.52	.91
	1908	11,971	1,439.65	1,207.84	231.81	8.65	6.84	1.81
Hawaii	1909	1,014	1,180.47	839.25	341.22	13.80	12.88	.92
	1908	255	1,282.35	1,027.45	254.90	39.15	35.59	3.56
Army transports	1909	1,669	644.70	599.16	45.54	.....	.....	.....
	1908	1,155	760.17	716.02	44.16	.....	.....	.....
Total	1909	74,319	1,062.99	865.92	197.07	16.84	15.20	1.64
	1908	65,406	1,188.03	962.88	225.15	18.48	16.51	1.97
Regular Army, American troops, 1899 to 1908		65,500	1,596.65	1,379.25	217.39	23.30	20.44	2.86

American troops (enlisted).		Died.			Total losses.			Constantly noneffective.	Days treated.	
		Total.	Disease.	Injury.	Total.	Disease.	Injury.		Each soldier.	Each case.
United States	1909	4.84	2.97	1.87	23.71	19.98	3.74	39.70	14.49	14.15
	1908	5.35	3.10	2.25	26.70	22.24	4.46	41.19	15.08	13.13
Alaska	1909	1.75	.....	1.75	6.11	.87	5.24	16.22	5.92	15.18
	1908	9.17	2.75	6.42	12.84	5.50	7.34	12.99	4.75	11.33
Cuba	1909	1.66	1.66	.....	4.97	4.97	.....	29.59	10.80	13.54
	1908	4.63	2.53	2.10	26.09	23.36	2.73	38.53	14.10	11.74
Philippine Islands	1909	6.43	4.09	2.35	17.86	14.61	3.26	52.27	19.19	14.24
	1908	9.31	5.03	4.28	17.96	11.87	6.09	53.35	19.53	13.56
Hawaii	1909	1.84	.92	.92	15.64	13.80	1.84	52.56	19.18	16.25
	1908	7.12	3.56	3.56	46.27	39.15	7.12	37.61	13.76	10.73
Army transports	1909	1.45	.96	.48	1.45	.96	.48	30.97	11.30	17.53
	1908	8.31	7.48	.83	8.31	7.48	.83	35.75	13.08	17.21
Total	1909	4.91	3.02	1.88	21.75	18.22	3.52	41.48	15.14	14.24
	1908	6.13	3.48	2.65	24.62	19.99	4.62	42.68	15.62	13.15
Regular Army, American troops, 1899 to 1908		10.85	7.35	3.50	34.15	27.79	6.36	.....	.....	.....

The above table is from the report of the Surgeon-General, United States Army, for 1910, and deaths occurring in the United States from disease contracted in the Philippines are credited to the station of the regiment to which the soldier belonged.

COAL.

The coal supply for the Philippines and ships coaling there comes mainly from Japan and Australia. The only mines operated in the archipelago are on the island of Batan. The coal is comparatively light and is inferior to that of Japan and Australia. It will not, except in emergency, be used by the navy, as the zone of movement would be too limited on account of the proportion of bulk to the energy evolved. It has, however, been tried on the transport *Dix*, being used with fairly satisfactory results from Manila to Seattle. It will answer well for interisland transportation. The deposits have not been determined sufficiently by expert examination. A mine is being operated on the island by the East Batan Coal Company at a cost of approximately 40 cents gold per ton, not including the cost of

administration nor interest on the investment. This coal is sold to the trade at $3.25 gold per ton, f. o. b. ship.

I visited and examined carefully the mine and plant which has been operated by the War Department. As near as I could get the figures, the cost of actual operation was $3,400 a month and, excluding that part of the force there engaged in taking care of material in the old entries and storing property, is approximately $2,500 a month, and this is as low a figure as the operations can be carried on for with the present output.

The officer in charge informed me that the approximate cost is $10 a ton on board ship. This cost per ton can not be materially reduced without further development of entries. While the general opinion seems to be that there is sufficient coal on the government property to warrant further development, there is no reliable evidence. It is largely a matter of conjecture. If such development could be carried on so that the total cost of production would not exceed the cost of coal to the Government by purchase, I would feel justified in using the army transportation fund which has hitherto been used for that purpose; but in view of the present actual cost and the problematic results of further attempts at development, I did not feel justified in continuing the work and directed it to be immediately shut down.

A topographical survey is now being made, with a view of getting data for expert examination. The cost of the plant there up to the present time to the Government amounts to $379,640.59 and there has been used from the mine coal to the value of $85,000. There are valuable houses and much valuable machinery, much of which would be a loss if the work should be abandoned. On account of the vital importance to the islands of ascertaining definitely as to the coal supply and to the army and navy of having, especially in case of war, a supply near the scene of possible operations, and also in view of the expenditures that have been made, I recommend that competent experts be employed to investigate the coal deposits on the government lands at this point and elsewhere where there are outcrops or other indications of coal and that Congress be asked to make an appropriation for this purpose.

HOTEL.

Manila, one of the most attractive cities in the world, has not had its just share of travelers because it has not possessed those accommodations demanded by the wealthier classes who travel for pleasure. There is much to attract and interest in the Philippines.

On the 1st day of September, 1910, a memorial tablet was placed for a first-class hotel upon the site designated by Mr. Burnham, and the building, modern in all of its features, will be pushed to a speedy completion. Knowing how largely foreign cities draw upon the capital of travelers, and what large benefits they derive from this source, the establishment of a first-class hostelry which can cater to the tastes of such people in a city which has for the lack of such accommodations repelled them, is an event of no small significance. The estimated cost of the building and furnishing is ₱900,000, of which ₱600,000 were loaned by the insular government upon bonds secured by mortgage.

HOSPITAL IN MANILA.

The opening of the general hospital for patients took place while I was in Manila, and I had the pleasure of attending. The event justly attracted great attention. The buildings are handsome, commodious, and constructed of stone and concrete upon the best modern type. The appointments are in every way up to date. Except in size it is, in all essentials, not in any way inferior to the best of such institutions constructed upon the most approved plans in America. Too much credit can not be given to Dr. Victor G. Heiser for the skill and knowledge with which he has directed this monumental work. It is an institution of which Manila can justly be proud, for it is a conspicuous exponent of its civic progress.

FODDER.

Attention was directed to this subject in your special report. No substantial results have been obtained in producing clover or alfalfa. Experiments have been made by the Agricultural Department in curing a native hay, but up to this time it has not been utilized by the army. The cost of provender brought from the United States is enormous and constitutes a large part of the extra expense of maintaining our soldiers in the Philippines over that in the United States. The cost of delivering American hay at Camp Keithley is estimated to be in excess of $40 per ton. A horse ordinarily consumes 14 pounds a day, which makes the cost about 28 cents per day. The cost of oats is proportionately high. I saw army horses and mules at Jolo mainly sustained by native produce. No effort should be spared to promote such culture as will supersede a large part of, if not all, importation of provender. This would result not only in a large saving in the army expenses, but would add to the agricultural prosperity of the islands. I was so much impressed with the necessity of taking more vigorous steps than had hitherto been taken for such development that I appointed a board consisting of the secretary of public instruction of the Philippine Islands, the director of agriculture of the Philippine Islands, one officer of the Quartermaster's Department, and two officers of the cavalry arm of the United States Army, said officers to be designated by the Commanding General of the Philippines Division, with instructions to investigate the subject of raising forage for horses and mules in the Philippines, and to devise and recommend plans for the economical production of forage for draft animals of the army and other branches of the Government, with permission to said board to avail itself of the services of experts connected with the insular bureau of agriculture and other branches of the insular government and of the Philippines Division of the United States Army.

At Camp Stotsenberg guinea grass is being used to some extent in lieu of the hay ration.

AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

A visit to the agricultural college at Los Baños and an examination of the work it is doing and the care and success characterizing it, give confidence that benefits will come from it to agriculture in

the Philippines like those which have come in recent years from such institutions in America. Original investigations are being made as to insects which are noxious to plant life, and already gratifying success has attended them. The beetle, which has been so destructive to the cocoanut trees, will be brought under control and great sums will thus be saved yearly to this large industry, upon which the living of so many of the inhabitants depends. Much of this research work is being done by the students under the able direction of Edgar M. Ledyard. Experiments are being made in plants, seeds, and trees and their adaptations. Undoubtedly improvement in agricultural methods and an increase in yield from the propagation from selected seeds will follow. All of the work, including that of farming, is done by students. The cost is so small as to bring the benefits of the institution within the means of those in moderate financial condition. It is popular and patronized by the wealthier classes who are interested in agriculture. The idea has prevailed, and not without warrant, that the Filipinos of the better class, on account of their training under Spanish ideals, contemn manual labor. A healthy change is becoming manifest. Here I saw working in the fields several sons of men of wealth, and they took great pride in their work. The institution was opened in June, 1908, and now there are 90 students. Doctor Copeland has under him experts from America in the various lines of specialties in agriculture.

The mainstay of the islands is, and doubtless always will be, agriculture. The want of iron, the character of timber, and the quality and limited supply of coal preclude the expectation that manufacturing will ever become a very prominent feature of industry. While broadly speaking this is true, yet capital can develop a great variety of profitable industries that will diversify the products of the islands and give lucrative employment to many of the inhabitants.

Copra and hemp, instead of being shipped in their crude form, from which the lowest profit is derived, should be manufactured in the islands. All of the copra is shipped in its raw state. Some hemp is made into cordage, but the amount is inconsiderable. The condition is very much the same as that which obtained in our Southern States when practically all of the cotton was shipped out to be manufactured. A vast change has come to the prosperity of those States since they have extensively developed home manufactures. Much of the profit which should accrue to the agriculturist in the islands is lost, owing to the want of proper care in preparing copra and hemp for market. The copra from Java brings a higher price by $8 per ton than that exported from the Philippines, owing to its better preparation for market.

The bureau of agriculture is sending experts to the farmers to instruct them in better methods.

Hemp-stripping machines which are regarded as successful are now being used in Davao, Albay, and Leyte. If they shall prove to be what is claimed for them, a great economy will follow in hemp production and better prices will be realized on account of the improvement in grade. The price of hemp has been low for the last two years.

The prostration of agriculture in certain sections on account of the loss of carabao from rinderpest is gradually recovering. It is thought that in three or four years the normal condition in this respect will be restored.

The sugar planters in the southern islands have, on account of good crops and the rise in price in sugar owing to the Payne bill, been so prosperous that they are making large importations of carabao from China, and at the present rate of progress will be sufficiently supplied.

Periodically the locust pest has inflicted serious losses upon the farmers. The bureau of agriculture has ascertained their breeding places and a systematic war of extermination is being successfully carried on. In this work the constabulary give valuable assistance. On the whole the agricultural condition is good.

When the plans for transportation now contemplated are carried out, wider markets are opened, animal diseases and noxious insects are brought under control, land titles are settled so that farmers can avail themselves of their lands as a basis of credit, and the irrigation system now planned is completed, agriculture will be on a more substantial basis and will not be subject to the prostrating conditions which hitherto have affected it.

The following table gives a comparison of the fiscal years from 1907 to 1910, inclusive:

Articles.	1907.		1908.	
	Quantities.	Values.	Quantities.	Values.
Hemp.....tons..	112,889	$21,085,081	113,999	$17,311,808
Copra.....pounds..	108,206,130	4,053,193	168,474,820	5,461,680
Sugar.....do....	265,189,835	3,934,460	334,464,646	5,664,666
Tobacco, and manufactures of:				
Leaf.....do....	29,910,788	1,957,488	23,187,231	1,581,741
Cigars.....thousands..	116,719	1,051,621	117,564	1,084,078
All other..	.....	120,085	.....	48,727
Miscellaneous..	.....	1,519,839	.....	1,677,116
	.....	33,721,767	.....	32,829,816

Articles.	1909.		1910.	
	Quantities.	Values.	Quantities.	Values.
Hemp.....tons..	147,621	$15,833,577	168,090	$17,404,922
Copra.....pounds..	232,728,116	6,657,740	256,559,997	9,153,951
Sugar.....do....	247,752,186	4,373,338	281,564,991	7,040,690
Tobacco, and manufactures of:				
Leaf.....do....	23,603,142	1,668,234	21,417,722	1,598,557
Cigars.....thousands..	116,278	1,083,702	196,592	2,973,630
All other..	.....	40,317	.....	65,308
Miscellaneous..	.....	1,387,550	.....	1,649,794
	.....	31,044,458	.....	39,886,852

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

I heard while in the Philippines various criticisms of the insular administration. This was to have been expected and necessarily arises where people are interested in and understand public affairs.

It has been a source of satisfaction to me that, although full opportunity has been given, charges of official dishonesty have been few. In my judgment, the administration in the Philippine Islands will compare favorably with that given either by the United States or by the several States in America, and I am of the opinion that more numerous complaints and of a more serious character are made in the United States than in the islands.

I am satisfied and I believe that anyone who makes a careful study of the personnel of the Philippine government will feel that the United States has just reason to be proud of the government it has established in the Philippine Islands.

I have confidence in the integrity and ability of the Governor-General, who is giving his whole mind and heart to his work.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

(a) I beg to refer to what I have heretofore said with reference to the coal mines on the island of Batan, owned by the United States Government and operated by the Quartermaster's Department of the Army. I renew the recommendation that an appropriation of $250,000 be made for the exhaustive study and development of this property. This recommendation was submitted in the estimate of appropriations for the fiscal year 1910.

(b) I renew the recommendation made in my annual report as Secretary of War in 1909 that provision be made for the retirement of American civil employees after long and faithful service under the Philippine government.

(c) On March 22, 1910, after a careful study of the recommendations of the Philippine Commission and after conference with you, I recommended:

First: That the limit of indebtedness which may be incurred by the Philippine government for public works and improvements be increased from $5,000,000 to $10,000,000. A bill providing for this has passed the Senate and has been favorably reported by the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives. I recommend that the passage of this bill be urged.

Second: I repeated the recommendation made by you for the amendment of the mining laws in accordance with several recommendations of the Philippine Commission. A bill to make this recommendation effective was introduced in the Senate and was subsequently referred to a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Philippines. I recommend that this bill be given early consideration.

Third: Following the recommendation of the Philippine Commission, I recommended the enactment of legislation to enable certain classes of Filipinos now excluded and aliens to become "citizens of the Philippine Islands." A bill effecting this was introduced in the Senate but did not, in the form presented, meet the approval of the Committee on the Philippines. I recommend that this matter be given further consideration.

Fourth: I also recommended certain amendments to the organic act to increase the amount of land which may be homesteaded and the amount which may be sold to individuals. I am, after further study, still of the opinion that the legislation in this regard recommended was conservative and wise, but, in view of the fact that there is to be an investigation of the general subject of the handling of the public lands of the Philippine Islands by a committee of the House of Representatives, I withhold any recommendation as to this matter pending the conclusion of said investigation.

Respectfully submitted.

J. M. DICKINSON,
Secretary of War.

The PRESIDENT.

APPENDIXES.

Appendix A.

List of petitions submitted to the Secretary of War during his visit to the Philippines and of the petitioners.

Petitioner.	Subject.
Negros Occidental.	
14 Municipal councils.	Investigation of charges by Representative Martin. Sale of San José estate declared by them illegal.
4 Municipal councils and provincial board.	Immediate establishment railroad line in Negros Occidental.
5 Municipal councils.	Establishment Filipino senate.
3 Municipal councils.	Filipinization all public offices in islands.
2 Municipal councils.	Congress formally declare intention to grant independence to Philippines, and not to retain, cede, or alienate any part thereof.
4 Municipal councils.	Immediate independence all Philippine Islands.
2 Municipal councils.	Discontinuance government Moro Province and establishment of civil government similar to that elsewhere in islands.
1 Municipal council.	Equalization of salaries in public offices as between Americans and Filipinos.
2 Municipal councils.	That Secretary of War obtain from Congress a money prize for person discovering efficient remedy for cattle diseases in islands.
1 Municipal council.	That bureau of lands facilitate homesteading by preparing map of lands which may be homesteaded, and furnish copy to each municipality.
1 Municipal council.	Extend period of study of Filipino students in United States to six years.
1 Municipal council.	That Congress extend term of office of all elective officials in islands to four years.
2 Municipal councils.	Reduction of salaries and wages of government officials and employees in Philippine Islands.
3 Municipal councils.	Applauding work of Messrs. Legarda and Quezon in Congress.
1 Municipal council.	Removal of limitations on importation of sugar, tobacco, and other Philippine products into United States free of duty.
2 Municipal councils.	Power to Philippine Legislature to enact laws regulating emigration of labor from the islands.
Provincial board.	Authority for province to issue $500,000 in bonds, proceeds to be used for construction of public roads and bridges.
Provincial board.	Power of Philippine Legislature to legislate for entire Archipelago, including Moro Province.
Municipal council, Pontevedra, Aug. 1, 1910.	Protesting against sale of friar lands in large tracts and requesting abolition of customs tariff between United States and Philippines.

List of petitions submitted to the Secretary of War during his visit to the Philippines and of the petitioners—Continued.

Petitioner.	Subject.
NEGROS OCCIDENTAL—Cont'd.	
Same body, Aug. 16, 1910.	Asking Secretary Dickinson to support Commissioner Quezon's recommendation to Congress for an elective Senate and empowering the Assembly to enact legislation restricting immigration.
OTHER PROVINCES.	
Filomeno O. Zafra and 278 others, Minglanilla, Cebu, Aug. 10, 1910.	Right to make commercial treaties with foreign nations. Right to draw up their own constitution. An elective Senate. Appointment of a Filipino Vice-Governor-General. One-half of secretaryships of executive departments. Greater representation on Supreme Court. Authority for Assembly to legislate for Moro and non-Christian provinces. Power to Assembly to investigate and censure, and impose upon administration policy of majority. Congress to fix area of friar lands that may be sold at same limit as that fixed for public lands. Homestead law be not amended as to area. Appeals to United States Supreme Court in amounts of $12,500 instead of $25,000, as at present. Law regulating emigration of laborers to foreign countries. Trial by jury. Independence as soon as possible.
Municipal council of Calumpit, Bulacan, August 15, 1910.	Creation of an elective Senate. Appointment of a Filipino as Vice-Governor-General. Appointment of Filipinos to half or more of the secretaryships of executive departments. Greater Filipino representation on the Supreme Court. Extension of authority to the Assembly to legislate for the Moro and other non-Christian provinces. Legislation by Congress restricting sale of friar lands to occupants, or if unoccupied, to Filipinos and corporations, and limiting area to that of public lands. Provisions of homestead law relating to area be not amended. Appeals to United States Supreme Court in amount of $12,500 instead of $25,000, as at present. Power to Assembly to enact legislation prohibiting, restricting, and favoring the immigration of laborers.
Presidents of the various committees of Nacionalista Party of Iloilo, August 27, 1910.	Immediate independence.

List of petitions submitted to the Secretary of War during his visit to the Philippines and of the petitioners—Continued.

Petitioner.	Subject.
OTHER PROVINCES—Continued.	
Municipal council, Cebu, August 17, 1910.	That the resolution introduced in Congress by Senator Crane is in accord with sentiments of people of Naga, and provides that copy of this resolution be sent to Senator Crane and Secretary Dickinson.
Municipal council of Naga, Cebu, August 17, 1910.	Indorsing resolutions adopted at mass meeting at Manila Opera House, May 22, 1910, protesting against sale of friar lands to the trusts.
Municipal council of Cebu, July 28, 1910.	Applauding Senator Crane for resolution calling for Philippine independence, and providing that a copy be forwarded to Secretary Dickinson.
Municipal council, Cebu, July 28, 1910.	Expressing accord with action taken by Representatives Martin and Slayden regarding sale of friar lands.
Tómas Aréjola, deputy from Ambos Camarines, Aug. 11, 1910, to Secretary of War.	Requesting him to faithfully interpret to the Government the aspirations of the Filipino people for immediate independence and, preliminary thereto, the granting of an elective Senate.
Municipal council of Talisay, Ambos Camarines, Aug. 6, 1910.	Immediate independence.
Mass meeting of people of Capiz, Aug. 23, 1910.	Immediate independence, and, in lieu thereof, (1) power to make their own constitution, (2) an elective Senate, (3) the Filipinization of the public service.
Convention of municipal presidents of Pangasinan, Aug. 27, 1910.	Immediate independence.
Convention of municipal presidents of Cavite, July 23, 1910.	Protesting against sale of friar lands in amounts greater than 1,024 hectares, and expressing accord with Representative Martin's action.
Municipal council, Sorsogon, July 21, 1910.	Applauding Representative Martin for his resolution calling for investigation of friar land sales, and requesting Government to sell friar lands only to occupants, or if unoccupied, to Filipino individuals or corporations.
Municipal council, Dingle, Iloilo, Aug. 24, 1910.	Protesting against sale of friar lands to the trusts.
Municipal presidents, Pangasinan Province, Aug. 27, 1910.	Asking the Secretary to endeavor to obtain for the Philippine Islands an elective Senate, to be purely Filipino, and trial by jury.
Municipal council, Mulanay, Tayabas, Aug. 5, 1910.	Congratulating Senator Crane and Commissioner Quezon, and welcoming the Secretary.
Municipal president, councilmen, and residents of Arevalo, Iloilo, Aug. 26, 1910.	Suspension for one year of customs duty on rice imported from Saigon, or the reduction thereof on account of poor crop in Islands this year.
Municipal council, Narvacan, Ilocos Sur, Aug. 1, 1910.	Applauding action of Representative Martin; and requesting that the Secretary report to the government that sale of San José estate is illegal and should be annulled.
Matias Hilado, Delegate of the Nacionalista Party, Negros Occidental, and Fernandez Yanson and Salvador Laguda, representatives of the National Progresista Party in that Province, to Secretary of War, Aug. 25, 1910.	Requesting him to endeavor to obtain for the Filipinos greater participation in the more important affairs of their government.

List of petitions submitted to the Secretary of War during his visit to the Philippines and of the petitioners—Continued.

Petitioner.	Subject.
OTHER PROVINCES—Continued.	
Philippine Chamber of Commerce, Manila, Sept. 1, 1910.	Objects to rate and system of taxation and to the budget and burden of expense of running the government. Complains of insufficient currency; of the miserable condition of agriculture through loss of work animals and insufficient capital; that the government shipyards, machine shops, bureau of supply, prison workshop, ice and printing plants present an unfair competition to manufacture by individuals; that the government revenue cutters come into competition with coastwise vessels, which endangers the continuance of some navigation companies; of the difficulties and hardships experienced by tobacco factories and distilleries in conducting their business; and that the Filipino has little chance of success in competition with foreigners. Suggests the necessity of reducing the expenses of administration of the government, and that the Filipino should be trained in commerce.
Province of Bulacan.	Notwithstanding their aspiration for immediate independence, petition for an elective senate, independence of the judicial power, increase of provincial autonomy, restoration of municipal autonomy, reduction of tax on alcohol, and reduction of the budget.
Certain Christian inhabitants of the island of Mindoro.	Protesting against the extension to that island of the régime for the government of non-Christian tribes.

NOTE.—These petitions are in the Department and will be submitted to you or to Congress, if desired.

Appendix B.

Hearings Before the Secretary of War, Held in Marble Hall, Ayuntamiento, Manila, on September 1, 1910.

The public session was opened by the honorable the Secretary of War at 10 o'clock a. m. The addresses were delivered in Spanish, interpreted by Mr. Rupert D. Fergusson, chief of the translating division, executive bureau, and reported stenographically.

The Secretary of War. It has been erroneously stated that during my stay in this country I would at all times be surrounded by public officials and by Americans who would not allow me to hear the voice of the people. That is not true. In proof thereof, in my journey to the northern provinces and in my recent journey to the southern provinces, as well as during my stay in Manila, I have at all times endeavored to come in contact with the people without any official intermediary. In order to do so more efficiently, I have accepted the hospitality of Filipino homes for some days, where persons desiring to do so were at liberty to visit me.

I have always believed in a full and free discussion of public matters. My life work has been that of a lawyer, and part of the time that of a judge. Therefore, the habit of my mind and training has led me to believe that large value is to be attached to a full and fair discussion of every question. Of great value to a court is the presentation and argument of the questions which it has to decide from the several points of view of the parties in interest. I have had a great many interviews and besides have had a great many papers presented to me of various characters, some of them referring to questions of administration and some referring to what I might denominate the reciprocal relations between the Philippine Islands and the Government of the United States. I have replied to most, and before I finish I will reply to all of these communications.

As to those questions relating to administration, I shall put them in the way of investigation, and shall, as soon as my opportunities will permit, give them such attention as I think they deserve. In respect to those petitions and papers which refer to the existing relations between the Philippine Islands and the United States, I have to the authors of these papers stated, to some verbally and to others in writing, that I will bring them to the attention of those authorities in the United States which are invested with jurisdiction over those questions.

In pursuance of this general purpose upon my part in coming here to learn what I can about those matters which affect the various interests here, I am at this public meeting for the purpose of listening to any representations which any of you gentlemen may desire to make.

Mr. Leocadio Joaquin. The Secretary of War has stated in the last paragraph of his address that he was disposed to hear any representations that might be made to him on this occasion. I wish to inquire of the Secretary of War if it is his purpose to hear only those persons who are able to show that they represent some element in the community, or some party or some interest.

The Secretary of War. I can not undertake to decide whom a man represents and I shall treat everybody here on the same footing and I shall accord equal rights to all.

Mr. Joaquin. We are grateful for the courtesy of the honorable the Secretary of War in giving us the opportunity on this occasion, of hearing all representations or complaints as may be made at this time.

As to the first question which I shall submit to the honorable the Secretary of War, the principal, ever-remaining and permanent question in this country is the question of agriculture. We all know that the basis of every government is founded on a good condition of agriculture and that the basis of every country or people also rests on agriculture. Unfortunately, Mr. Secretary, for more than ten years past the Philippines have been sighing and groaning under a frightful burden due to the deplorable condition of our agriculture. The representatives of the United States have sought the most practical means to find a cure for this condition of affairs, and as a remedy they have found the establishment of an agricultural bank. In theory, the bank has had apparently a brilliant success, but in practice it is really a dead letter. The agricultural bank has no branches in the provinces or municipalities. It makes

its loans from the Manila headquarters. It has encountered many obstacles in reaching the agriculturist, so that it is impossible for him to secure any money from said bank. As an essential requisite, as an indispensable one, is the furnishing of a Torrens title to land, a title which has been made legal by the enactment of the land registration act. As this law was but recently enacted, most of our lands have not Torrens titles, but have titles that were derived from the Spanish Government or under Spanish law. At the present time there are many difficulties in the way of obtaining a Torrens title. There are many minute requirements on the part of the bureau of lands relating to the making of plans. This is a requirement which paralyzes the work as there are very few agriculturists who can get these plans. Before the enactment of a recent law, which regulates the practice of surveying in the islands, there were over a thousand surveyors who were duly qualified by colleges and institutions of learning as such. This law, which was enacted about two years ago, has disqualified all of these qualified surveyors, who, as I have already said, numbered over 1,000, and I can now assure your honor that there are probably not more than 100 qualified-by-the-Government surveyors at the present time in the islands. They are the only persons who are competent to survey land, whose plans will be admitted by the court of land registration in the acquisition of Torrens titles. This, then, is the first obstacle that a man finds who is not in possession of a Torrens title, in the making of the plans, survey of the land, etc.

In addition to the other obstacles that are put in the way of the survey of the land by the bureau of lands, this fact alone, this lack of surveyors, is of itself sufficient to make it impossible, or at least very difficult, for the agriculturist to acquire a Torrens title.

If all of these obstacles are obviated and a Torrens title is acquired, a landowner, in Surigao, for example, after making a trip of from eight to sixteen days in order to secure a loan from the agricultural bank in Manila, and after negotiating with the bank, will be able to secure only one-tenth of the value of the property as a loan. That is to say, if the property is worth ₱10,000 he may secure a loan for ₱1,000. As you can understand, a property owner who has property worth ₱10,000 can scarcely hope to find a remedy for his present condition by the loan of ₱1,000. Really, we do not understand why, the restriction being so great as regards the amount of the loan that will be given with relation to the value of the property, there are so many other restrictions, if it is the purpose of the bank to find a cure for the present conditions of affairs as regards agriculture.

It is for this reason that scarcely one-tenth of the arable lands of the Philippines are under cultivation and we must add to all this the burden of the land tax and another great difficulty which the property owner has to meet—the lack of money to buy cattle with and to improve his property. Such a landowner will probably default in the payment of the land tax owing to the fact that he has not enough money with which to pay the tax, and the logical and certain consequence of all this is—as has often been seen—that practically everybody's property in the end will be seized by the government and be sold for taxes.

These are the principal obstacles that up to the present time our agriculture has found in the way of its development. When the country is sinking lower and lower into poverty, many property owners in the provinces have recommended that the government of the Philippine Islands secure from the United States Government all of the capital necessary to establish branches of the agricultural bank in the provinces and municipalities. Such branches should have all the necessary capital in proportion to the extent of rice land and agricultural land in each district. The advantages that according to many agriculturists would be derived from this method would be the facilities afforded to them in the matter of the applications for loans.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him what capital he thinks is necessary to accomplish what he has in mind for the whole Philippine Islands.

Mr. JOAQUIN. The amount of the capital would be based upon the proportion of the arable and agricultural lands in each district and the data in regard to these can be easily secured from the provincial treasurers who have a list of all these properties as assessed for taxation.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him if he has in his mind an idea of the total capital that would be necessary to carry out his views.

Mr. JOAQUIN. That is a very difficult question to determine. It is a question of mathematics.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Can you give it approximately?

Mr. JOAQUIN. About ten times as much as the present capital. (As the present capital of the agricultural bank is ₱1,000,000, this would mean a capital of ₱10,000,000.) The distribution of this capital among the provinces and municipalities by the general manager of the bank in Manila under the inspection of his deputies, who would be

the provincial and municipal treasurers, would, we believe, solve the question, and I shall not dwell very much longer on this point. I wish to assure you that this is the principal evil. Any remedies that might be given to other bureaus or other departments of the government should be united together and be placed here. This remedy is as urgent for the agriculture of the country as a cure would be for a man who is about to die for want of medicine. I have been over many of the provinces and I have found that there are very many families who are able to eat only one meal a day because they have not got money or food to eat oftener.

As a matter of secondary importance but as a corollary to the principal question. I shall take up the question of tax assessment on land, which is another factor which contributes to the principal evil that affects agriculture. I have demonstrated in the beginning of my address that the farmer without capital will in course of time be crushed, and that this property will be liable to seizure by the government and to be sold for taxes. Many farmers also recommend that there be secured through the honorable Secretary of War a reform in the land tax in such a way that it will not fall upon the value of the land but upon the value of the products of the land, as it is not just or fair to punish the property owner who is unable to pay the tax on his land when he has no money with which to pay it; nor is it fair that the tax should be upon the value of the land and not upon the value of the products.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him this—if he thinks that land that is unproductive should not be taxed at all.

Mr. JOAQUIN. Practically, in accordance with equity, it would appear not.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him that suppose a lot of rich men bought up to the extent that the law permits all the uncultivated land in the islands, then they would own and control them, and not contribute to the expenses of the government.

Mr. JOAQUIN. If the honorable Secretary of War will pardon me, I can not conceive of such a condition of affairs either in theory or in practice.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him if he can not conceive of men taking their money and buying land to the extent that the law permits?

Mr. JOAQUIN. Yes, sir; perfectly.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Well, then, let him suppose that they hold those lands as an investment with a view to selling them. Ought they not to pay anything on them for sustaining the government?

Mr. JOAQUIN. I do not think that the case could happen in practice because a rich man, when he buys land as an investment, is not going to allow the land to become overgrown with brush and forest and yield him nothing. We have an example here recently of capitalists buying lands with the purpose of cultivating them.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him that some of the most immense fortunes that have been made in America have been made by rich men buying up land and waiting for the country to develop, and thus acquired fortunes of millions and millions of dollars in that way, and if they do not contribute to the expenses of government on these lands it would be an injustice to the people who bear this burden.

Mr. JOAQUIN. I fully agree with the Secretary of War that such things have happened in America, but that would be impossible where the same conditions do not prevail. This country is not developed as is the United States. Where individuals have bought large tracts of land in the Philippines for the purpose of holding them as an investment, they have found at the end of the first year that much of the land they have bought is in forests and has depreciated in value about one-third, and at the end of the second year that it has depreciated one-half, and if allowed to go without cultivation altogether that it has become practically valueless.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Suppose they buy lands in their primitive state and hold them free from taxation. There can not be any depreciation in price.

Mr. JOAQUIN. Of course if the lands bought are arable land, they would quickly depreciate in value on account of the excessive and exuberant tropical growth, which would convert them into forests in a very short time.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Suppose they are already forest when bought. Are those lands to be held without taxation?

Mr. JOAQUIN. Here in the Philippine Islands as forest lands are government lands, they are not as a general rule the objects of purchase and sale.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him wouldn't they be the object of purchase if a man could hold them without being taxed on them.

Mr. JOAQUIN. Forest land would yield him nothing and he would not be able to dispose of it as forest land. There is no market for forest lands.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him I just wanted to get his view. I understand what his opinion is. Tell him to proceed.

Mr. JOAQUIN. Let us admit hypothetically the supposition put by the honorable Secretary of War. If a law were to be enacted making taxation on the net proceeds

from the products of lands and then some rich man wished to take advantage of the situation by purchasing the land and holding it, with the object of defrauding the government, I believe that in that event the law might be amended to suit such cases. In such cases there might be given such extension of time within which it might be obligatory upon the owner to cultivate the land if it were possible for him to do so. Certainly no man can be compelled to do what is impossible. If he failed to comply with this condition of placing his land under cultivation and thus making it subject to taxation within the time specified by law then he might be adjudged as maliciously designing to defraud the government. The government of the Philippines Islands has had a practical view of my contention and has fallen in with my view by having exempted certain provinces where the crops were bad from the payment of the land tax during several successive seasons. I finish now the principal question, which I believe the Secretary of War thoroughly understands and that he fully realizes what is needed for the country.

I pass on to the second subject.

It has been observed in practice that there is a great lack of lawyers in the courts of justice. During the Spanish Government there was a certain number of attorneys who were paid by the Government to devote their services free to poor clients.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him does he mean in civil as well as criminal cases.

Mr. JOAQUIN. It was obligatory, it was compulsory in criminal cases, but not in civil cases, but they acted in civil cases also.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him if in the courts here if a man is not able to employ counsel, the courts do not assign lawyers to do it.

Mr. JOAQUIN. Yes, sir. That is the practice and it is a bad practice to be sure.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him that is the practice that obtains everywhere in America. The lawyer is a sworn officer of the court and he is bound to defend without charge any person not able to defend himself, if appointed by the court to do so.

Mr. JOAQUIN. That practice has been followed here ever since the establishment of American Government, but the results are deficient in practice.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him to state how.

Mr. JOAQUIN. The Secretary of War will agree with me that to human kind the chief incentive is money in every effort. Every effort that a man makes he does with the incentive of money.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him I do not agree with him on that proposition at all. If I did, I would not be here as Secretary of War, because I can make more money in other ways.

Mr. JOAQUIN. I refer to professional cases. I say this because we have seen it in practice. For example, we have a trial of a criminal case and the defendant appears before the court. He is a poor man and asks the court to appoint a counsel for him and the court, who has not any lawyers to choose from as a general rule, will look around and see if there happens to be a lawyer in the court room and the very first lawyer who happens to be in the court room is generally selected by the court to defend the unhappy man. The trial is immediately proceeded with. Now the prosecuting attorney, who has probably prepared his case a month before, has very much the best of it over the lawyer for the defendant who was just brought into the case at that very moment.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him what is his remedy.

Mr. JOAQUIN. I would recommend that the old Spanish practice be adhered to. Under the Spanish form of government a lawyer was appointed de oficio to defend all poor defendants in criminal cases and he was paid a salary just as well as the district prosecuting attorney. I do not find that it is just and fair that a government should maintain an office for the prosecution of crime and at the same time maintain no establishment for the defense of poor defendants in criminal cases.

It is very necessary that the Government should take some steps to remedy this condition of affairs. When the Vice-Governor made a visit to one of the provinces some months ago he found a number of prisoners who had been in jail for over eight months. Their cases had not been disposed of, had not been brought to trial, and it was chiefly owing to the lack of some lawyer to defend them.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him if the court went on with its session and appointed lawyers to defend them the delays would not happen because there were no lawyers but because the court was not doing its duty and trying the cases before it.

Mr. JOAQUIN. The chief difficulty is in the organization of the courts. We have district courts so that a judge will hold sessions only once every three months in his court in one district and very often prisoners are not brought to trial for several months because the judge can not get around to it.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Then the trouble is on account of the courts and not on account of not having regular salaried attorneys.

Mr. JOAQUIN. The chief difficulty is the want of a person appointed by the government to look after these poor cases, who will take an interest in each case and make the necessary preliminary investigation. The court is very much occupied all the time, and the delay in these cases is due to the fact that they are not brought to the attention of the court and disposed of, while other matters are.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him, suppose the court was not in session. Tell him also to proceed. I do not want to curtail his remarks, but I want to give others an opportunity to speak.

Mr. JOAQUIN. You are thoroughly informed on that point. The difficulty is due to the lack of lawyers de oficio. Such an attorney should have power to investigate the conditions of each case—each of these "pobre" (poor) cases—and bring them up before the court. It is a just that this should be as it is to have a prosecuting attorney's office, which is well paid by the government. There should be another office of attorneys called "defenders of the poor" to investigate all such cases and bring them up before the court.

This question is the last. It is very arduous. It is really not incumbent upon me to bring it up, as I am only an individual. However, I have taken it upon myself to bring it to your attention because it is the subject of general complaint. We are dealing with the question of the Filipinization of the service. The truth must be told. The Filipinos employed at the present time who have had more than ten years of experience are not justly compensated for their work. I shall not go into details, but I will say that it is a grievance on the part of the Filipino employees. All the Presidents of the United States have had as a motto for the Philippine Islands "The establishment of a government by Filipinos aided and taught by Americans." After the visits that I have made into the provinces and the different departments of the government, I have become personally convinced of the justice and necessity of the equality before the law between native and foreign government employees. I wish that the Secretary would have it in mind that I take this matter up in representation of the employees.

We have all great confidence in the great American nation and that all of its good purposes for the Filipinos will be successfully carried out, if not at a very early time, at least in due time. One of the great purposes that the worthy ex-Presidents of the United States have announced with respect to the Philippines and one that had been put into the Philippine bill is the complete Filipinization of the government service.

If the honorable Secretary of War thinks that the hour has arrived for this to take place——

The SECRETARY OF WAR. For what to take place?

Mr. JOAQUIN. The Filipinization of the service. I thank the honorable Secretary of War very much for his kindness in hearing my impertinent representations.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him I do not regard them as impertinent at all, but very relevant.

Mr. JOAQUIN. I thank you and I trust that taking into consideration your well-known democratic sentiments you will be a faithful interpreter of all the representations that have been made to you by the different persons during the time that you have been in the Philippines.

We desire you a happy voyage and that you will grant our petitions, if you deem them fair and just.

Mr. L. GONZALEZ LIQUETE, of the newspaper La Vanguardia, was the next speaker.

Mr. LIQUETE. I wish to state in the first place that I have not come prepared to speak. I am a newspaper man. I simply came here to get the news of this transcendental event, but as I have seen that none of the persons who devote themselves to politics has come forward to-day to give expression to his opinions, I should like to fill this vacuum by making a few remarks.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. I shall be glad to hear you.

Mr. LIQUETE. I should, in the first place, like to express my adherence and support to everything that has been said by Mr. Leocadio Joaquin with respect to the Filipinization of the service. Mr. Joaquin has spoken in general terms. He has referred to the principles of the policy of America toward the Philippines respecting the insular administration. I should like to bring to the attention of the Secretary of War certain data which will prove that the principles and the promises that have been so repeatedly and so solemnly made by the Governors-General, both in documents and in speeches—I should like to prove, I repeat, that these promises and principles are very far from being realized. I have read very carefully the reports of the Governors-General, of the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, and of the Philippine Commission, and in the last report of the Governor-General I have found something that might pass for an explanation regarding the difficulties in the way of the Filipinization of the service. This part of the Governor-General's report says

that one of the difficulties has been principally the lack of technical men among the Filipinos to do the work in connection with engineering and public works. This affirmation of course is true as regards technical Filipinos in engineering, but I do not think this is a reason sufficiently powerful to explain the conservative policy of the insular administration regarding the participation that the Filipinos ought to have in the administration of the Philippines. I understand that what is called the Filipinization—that is to say, the advisability and the necessity and the justice of giving the Filipinos a larger participation in the administration of the Philippines—would be a great advantage from a moral standpoint as well as from an economical standpoint. We have, for example, the bureau of health. In this bureau we have some technical Filipinos who could occupy with great advantage to the service the highest offices in that bureau. We have the constabulary. Nearly all the steamers coming from America bring third lieutenants for the constabulary. I do not see any objection, and there are many advantages in having the said third lieutenants who come from the United States supplanted by Filipinos. I understand that these third lieutenants who come from America have been very carefully selected from among young men who have graduated from military colleges, but these gentlemen are not subjected to the examination that the Filipinos who aspire to the same rank have to pass here in the Philippines. This same careful selection might be made from among young men who graduate from the schools of the government here, and a preparatory school might be created for constabulary officers. The organization of the constabulary in the Philippines had for its purpose the creation of a national militia force which should be responsible for the preservation of public order, in such manner that when first organized the constabulary was composed in each province of men who enlisted in that province, where they were residents. A reform that would restore the confidence of many people who are doubtful of the good purpose of the United States would be to make the constabulary a national organization, a really Filipino organization, responsible for the preservation of public order.

With respect to other departments of the administration, the same thing might be said with respect to clerkships. The Filipinos are just as efficient up to a certain point as the Americans are, and the employment of Filipinos would mean a great reduction in the appropriations.

If you will permit me, I would like to deal with other matters also. I should like to touch on the question of the friar lands. In order fully to understand public sentiment on this matter, I believe it is necessary to remind you of the motives that led Mr. Taft to negotiate for the acquisition of these lands. These motives were fully explained by Mr. Taft in his special report made when Secretary of War. He there says that it was a great question affecting public order. He considered the question of the purchase of the friar lands as a question of state. He has repeated this very often—whenever he has touched upon the subject in his reports—and he has also repeated it many times at popular demonstrations that have been made in these islands against the retention of the friars in the Philippines. It is my opinion that the purchase of large areas of the friar lands by various interests is a trampling upon vested rights, rights that have been created by, and belong to, the former tenants of the friar estates.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Do you know of the purchase of any large quantity of land where the rights of former tenants have been disregarded?

Mr. LIQUETE. Yes, sir; the Calamba estate.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Can you give me a list of the names of any men who were tenants and who were willing to buy and have not been permitted to buy and have been dispossessed by the purchasers of any such large area of land? I would like to have a list of the names of such persons. You may furnish it at any time convenient. It will be attached as an exhibit to your remarks.

(Mr. Liquete stated that he would do everything possible to get such a list.)

The SECRETARY OF WAR. That is contrary to my present information and I would like to have the details.

(Mr. Liquete explained that he did not mean to say that any acts had been consummated already that have infringed the rights of the tenants of the friar estates, but that there is a decision of the Attorney-General of the United States with respect to the sale of friar lands which can lead up to a result which will be tantamount to that.)

The SECRETARY OF WAR. The law fully protects persons in possession, and the Attorney-General's opinion has no bearing on that question. So far as I know every person who is in possession of the friar lands has had an opportunity to buy, and that so far as I know no one who was in possession has been dispossessed, as no one has bought lands so possessed, and if you have any information of that sort I would like to have it.

(Mr. Liquete thought that he could supply some data with reference to the subject.)

The SECRETARY OF WAR. I am very anxious to have it.

Mr. LIQUETE. Some of the tenants who have been occupying the lands, in person and through inheritance, for a length of time have been unable to purchase them, though they have not as yet been dispossessed. They would in case that the lands were sold be dispossessed.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Does the gentleman know of any step that has been taken—any sale—which would dispossess these people? I know of no such thing, and if he has any information to that effect I should like to have it.

Mr. LIQUETE. Very well, sir. I have nothing more to say, except to thank you very much.

(Mr. Liquete stated over the telephone on September 2, 1910, that when he had gathered the data promised the Secretary of War he would forward it to him through the executive bureau. He, however, did not submit the data, and on return to Washington the Secretary inquired by cable and found that it had not been submitted.)

Mr. LORENZO TATLONG NERI. I desire to speak in the name of and on behalf of my town, Santa Rosa, La Laguna. The Secretary of War passed through that town yesterday.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Are you an official?

Mr. NERI. No, sir, but I wish to speak because I think that the matter I have to present to the Secretary of War lies within his jurisdiction.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. When he said he speaks on behalf of the town I wanted to know whether he was speaking as a volunteer, as a committee, or in an official capacity. I shall be very much pleased to hear whatever he has to say even as an individual.

Mr. NERI. In the month of June there was a popular assembly held in my "pueblo," and I was then appointed as one of the representatives to the national assembly, or, rather, convention, which it was sought to hold here in Manila in the presence of the Secretary of War. This is a question which has to do with approximately some 200,000 hectares of land. These 200,000 hectares were excluded from the sale of the friar lands made by the Philippines Sugar Estates Development Company.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Did he say "excluded" or "included"?

Mr. NERI. They were excluded from the sale made by the Philippines Sugar Estates Development Company.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Who is that?

Mr. FERGUSSON. That was one of the selling companies to the government.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him who owns these 200,000 hectares.

Mr. NERI. A great many owners.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. The government did not buy it?

Mr. NERI. No, sir. They were excluded from the land which was sold with the friar estates. The purpose of the government in buying the lands of the friar estates was to give facilities to the tenants for acquiring the proper title to such lands.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. That was one of the purposes but not all. Tell him I do not understand it that way. It was to get the friars away from here.

Mr. NERI. Yes, sir. That is true.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. And that was the main one.

Mr. NERI. Yes, sir. Now these lands which were excluded from the sale you will understand have been held for many years past by the present owners, but to-day it appears that the tenants are liable to be deprived of their rights.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. By whom?

Mr. NERI. By the Philippines Sugar Estates Development Company.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Is that a friar estates company? Who is that?

Mr. FERGUSSON. There are several companies here and the friars sold out to them. They were organized——

Mr. NERI. About a month ago the president of the Philippines Sugar Estates Development Company wrote to all of the tenants on these lands who are actually on the land, who now occupy the land, saying that the company is ready to start to cultivate the lands on its own account and for its own benefit, so that it appears that the company seeks to deprive the tenants of the possession of the land.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. That is a legal question, is it not?

Mr. NERI. Yes, sir.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Why don't the people interested get together and employ a lawyer and have him take up and bring it into the courts to protect their rights?

Mr. NERI. The reason is that the company to-day has absolute property rights over this land.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. If they have absolute property rights over the land what does he think I can do?

Mr. NERI. We simply wish to state that it might be possible for you to use your influence in favor of these people and secure from the Congress of the United States

authority for the purchase of these lands by the government in order that the government may then sell the lands back to the tenants as they did in the case of the friar lands.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him if the friars have anything to do now with these lands.

Mr. NERI. I believe that the present Philippines Sugar Estates Development Company is the same company that sold the friar lands to the government.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him if they have ever taken this matter up with the Governor-General. Have they ever called this matter to his attention and asked him to investigate it and find out what the status is? If not, I think that is what they ought to do. Tell him I think that is the proper way to proceed, to initiate it anyway.

Mr. NERI. I thought I would avail myself of this opportunity in the understanding that you were here ready to listen to any complaints.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him I am very willing to listen, but it seems to me that is the most practical way to proceed.

Mr. NERI. We are quite ready to do that and we thank you very much. As you are going to the United States very soon and as Congress will meet very soon and Congress must be called upon to give authority to purchase this land, I thought I would bring it to your attention so that you might bring it to the attention of Congress.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him I could not do anything merely on his verbal statement, and I think there ought to be an investigation and some authentic facts and papers to lay before Congress, and I have no doubt it will give the matter proper consideration.

Mr. MONTENEGRO REYES. It will be a crime for us not to comply with the exigencies of this occasion. We understand perfectly that the honorable Secretary of War in an administrative way is the most distinguished personage that has visited these islands, because he is practically what we might call the administrative head of our government, and as his recommendations may result in a variety of benefits to this country I do not wish to allow this opportunity to pass by without taking advantage of it at the same time I have the pleasure of speaking face to face with the highest representative of the Sovereign Government. The nobility of the soldier, such as I am, demands that I should talk with clearness and frankness, and to say that my people want immediate independence. [Applause.]

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him what he means by "immediate independence?"

Mr. REYES. We mean to say that we want to have independence under the protection of America, and right now, to-day, if possible.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him there is no probability of that either to-day or in the immediate future. Tell him he has spoken frankly and I would not be just with him if I did not also speak frankly to him.

Mr. REYES. I thank you, Mr. Secretary, from the bottom of my soul that you have spoken so frankly——

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him I never speak any other way.

Mr. REYES. But I wish to make a representation to the honorable Secretary of War that will justly interpret the desires of my people.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him I will be very glad to hear his statement and shall also be very glad to make same known to the President and to Congress.

Mr. REYES. I thank you very much personally and on the part of the majority of the people for the honor which you have done us. I should like to enter upon another very important question, if the Chair will kindly grant me a few minutes more.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Certainly.

Mr. REYES. We have spoken here of agriculture. The wealth of the Filipino people lies in their agriculture. Some people have said that the Filipinos do not want to work, but I think that the reason that the Filipino does not work is because he is a colonist, a dependent, he is not working for himself.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him whom he is working for.

Mr. REYES. Considering the conditions of the Filipino people and the fact that they are colonists——

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him if anybody else is getting the results of their labor except themselves.

Mr. REYES. I am simply making a premise. This matter involves a question upon which your influence, moral and otherwise, will be of great benefit to the people. I am referring to certain legislation here—such, for example, as the "bandolerismo" act, the brigandage act, a very severe law. The provisions of that law are so very strict that the Filipino fears to go out into the field and work. The Filipino looks upon this law as a sword of Damocles hanging over his head.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him what parts of this country his remarks apply to when he says that they are afraid to go out and work in their fields. I want to know

what section of the country he refers to. I want to inquire into these conditions and remedy them if I can.

Mr. REYES. I wish to cite the facts first——

The SECRETARY OF WAR. No; I want him first to specify the facts. He has stated it as a fact and now I want him to specify.

Mr. REYES. Not very long ago, in a province the name of which I have forgotten, a gentleman who is very well known here was accused of bandolerismo, or brigandage.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him he is getting away from the point. He is not answering my question. He stated that there were places in this country where the Filipinos were afraid to go out and work on account of that law and I asked him where those places are, because I want to know the facts and I want to investigate them, and I want him to give the specific places.

Mr. REYES. I will explain some facts to you that will justify me in making that remark. A farmer who has a little bit of capital and sufficient energy and means to cultivate his land goes out to his estate, which is, as a general rule, two or three or more kilometers from the center of the town. There he has no personal security because there is no constabulary there, so that there is no security to the person. A few hungry people go there to his estate and make a demand on the property owner for some rice, and it is quite natural for this man, this property owner, either prompted by feelings of humanity or through intimidation, to yield to such demands. The law does not compel this man to find out whether these people are really brigands or not, although morally it may be incumbent upon him to find out whether they are brigands or not before giving them the rice. If he does give even 2 cavans or measures of rice, which he is giving in perfect good faith and with good intentions, he is, under the law, a bandit and he is prosecuted as such. Now, then, I have a good deal of confidence in the courts of justice as organized to-day and the men at the head of them as men of integrity. Now, this man who has been accused of brigandage, if he is not hanged, will get twenty years' imprisonment, or even if he is acquitted, the amount of money he expends in defending himself is lost entirely. Nobody pays it back to him. It is this condition of affairs that keeps the people from working their lands. They might go out and work their land and at the end of the year make ₱5,000, but on the other hand, they might be brought under the operations of the brigandage law and lose ₱10,000, if they do not go to jail. In view of the fact that there is no war or brigandage or disturbance of public order—we are all at peace in these islands here now—I am of the opinion that the remedy can be found in the amendment of this act, and I ask you to use your influence with the Commission, in order that it will pass a bill amending or repealing the "bandolerismo" act when brought up by the Assembly.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Now tell him I want him to answer my question, which he has not answered. He says that at the present time in certain places the condition of affairs is such that a man is afraid to go out into his field and work on account of the operations of this law.

Mr. REYES. That is true, but that condition of affairs does not prevail in the provinces near Manila. However, it is not very long since that a millionaire property owner, Mr. Pedro Roxas, was brought under the operation of the "bandolerismo" act in the Province of Batangas.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him if he goes out into the field to work.

Mr. REYES. According to the newspapers he was out on his estate superintending the work.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. He said that the people were afraid to go out and work their lands.

Mr. REYES. What I meant to say was going out on their estates and working their lands.

The SECRETARY OF WAR (to Mr. Fergusson). You said "work in the fields." Now ask him if he knows of an instance now in any part of these islands where people are ever afraid to go out upon their lands to superintend them or are afraid to go out upon their lands and actually work them, and if so, to please state what part it is. I want the facts to investigate them.

Mr. REYES. Actually at the present time I can not point to any particular place in the islands where just exactly this condition prevails, but I have pointed to consummated acts in the past that bear out what I have said. I myself was appointed administrator of an estate in the Province of Bataan. My appointment coincided exactly with the capture of Felipe Salvador.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. When was that?

Mr. REYES. About four weeks ago. When I got out there to the land, I was informed by the people living on the land that some of the followers of Felipe Salvador had passed through there and had been followed by the constabulary. It is my opinion that the constabulary did their duty, and nothing but their duty, in following those

people, as it is their public duty to do so. Now, then, suppose I had been there when the constabulary came in pursuit of the bandits; had these bandits been to me the night before and asked me for rice or any other sort of food, under the operations of this law the fact of their having been on my place and talking to me and getting food from me would bring a prosecution against me.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Who passed this law and who can change it?

Mr. REYES. It is a law that was enacted by the Philippine Commission.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him if he has ever brought this matter to the attention of the Governor-General and presented his ideas to him.

Mr. REYES. No, sir.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him doesn't he think that is the proper way to do before going over his head to me. If he had gone there and gotten no relief that would be a matter then that would be a just cause of complaint, but it seems to me that that would be the proper way to give him an opportunity to consider his views.

Mr. REYES. I understand that that is the proper administrative process.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him I am very glad to hear what he has to say on the subject, but I think that is the most desirable way to reach an adjustment.

Mr. REYES. My idea was to convince you of the necessity of the amendment or repeal of this law in order that you may use your influence with the Commission.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him that he must understand that I could not recommend the repeal of a law on a mere ex parte statement, and I would have to refer the matter for an investigation by the government here, and the logical way is for him to take it up himself with the Governor-General.

Mr. REYES. I know that you are the head of things out here and I wanted to bring this important matter before you.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him I do not legislate. Congress, acting on my information, could disapprove legislation, but I do not legislate.

Mr. REYES. I understand that perfectly well. But I understand and so do the Filipino people understand that, knowing your prominence in the Taft Cabinet, you can make recommendations that will be acted upon. That is all I have to say.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him that I am very glad to have heard him.

Mr. REYES. I thoroughly understand that you can not settle this question of independence; that you have not the legal power to do so, but we wish you to be the voice of the people.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him they have representatives in Congress for that very purpose.

A letter was handed in to the Secretary of War by a messenger relative to the employment of certain Filipinos by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association.

A representative of the Nationalist party then presented a memorial containing recommendations which the Nationalist party desired the Secretary of War to present to the President of the United States, in order that he in turn might lay them before Congress. He stated that he and his party hoped that the Secretary of War would give them his best attention in submitting them to the President.

The Secretary of War assured him that he would do as he desired.

Mr. MARCELO ELORIAGO, physician, was then recognized.

Mr. ELORIAGO. I am encouraged to address you by the kindness with which you have addressed the people in opening this conference.

It is not my purpose to speak to you of the independence of the Philippines, for, although I, like all Filipinos, am possessed by the desire for a government of our own, because we contend that the Filipinos are prepared—not only prepared now, but have for a long time past been prepared and competent—to rule ourselves, but I have not come here to ask you for this independence, nor to speak about it, because it does not lie in your hands to grant it to us; nor shall I speak of this independence, though it is a very beautiful thing to those here present and to all Filipinos in general. Not only do we desire it very much, as your honor must have heard in your trip through the provinces of this Archipelago, where you have seen reflected this desire in the faces of all Filipinos, but you have heard it from the lips of all who have expressed themselves with sincerity. Nor do I come here to lay any complaint before you, though I, like the majority of Filipinos, would complain of the administration, not on account of the goodness or the badness with which it is carried on in the hands of the present public functionaries, but because, in our judgment, a radical change is necessary; that is to say, we want self-government. This you will call a political question, and as regards political matters, I will repeat, honorable sir, I have not come to take up your time. I come, honorable sir, for those unfortunate people

who groan in the jails, asking for them, who are not of the class who have committed common crimes, but those who have committed the crimes of sedition, rebellion, conspiracy, and "bandolerismo." These unfortunates, confined among common criminals, do not, in the public conscience, deserve such classification, because the common criminal commits an act for his own satisfaction, either through motives of revenge and hatred, or cupidity, or by the exercise of dastardly and vile passions. These unfortunates have committed acts which, although illegal, they have been impelled to do by an idea for the welfare of their country, and they should not be confined, all the more so in time of peace. The confinement of these individuals by the government can not be justified to-day, when peace is a fact and a beautiful reality, and therefore the confinement of these individuals is without reason. For this reason, I come, honorable sir, to request of you, and to ask you, that before you leave these islands, before returning to your home, you leave behind you a beautiful remembrance of your journey over here, and this remembrance consists of the following:

There are at present, and have been since July 1, 1910, according to data furnished by the bureau of prisons, 1 prisoner for sedition, 1 for conspiracy, 6 for rebellion, and 395 for "bandolerismo." I refer to the first three classes in my remarks. As regards the last class, a majority of them also belong to the class to which I refer. One of the most beautiful prerogatives of power is undoubtedly the pardoning power, and your honor is vested with that power. If, on arriving on these shores and after having seen the efforts put forth by all classes of society to make agreeable your short stay in these islands, the greatest recompense that could be hoped for from your honor is undoubtedly to open the doors of the jail, with the understanding, honorable sir, that in doing so you will carry as a trophy to your country the most fervent gratitude of the persons pardoned, of their families, and of this numerous gathering who hear my words at this moment, then all the Filipinos will once more esteem the perfect and accomplished gentleman who occupies the Secretaryship of War of the United States of North America, the perfect and accomplished gentleman who, with generous hands, returns the courtesy which has been bestowed upon him. I thank you.

Then followed an informal conference between the Secretary of War and Captain Mens, of the merchant marine service, relative to license fees paid by ship officers in the Philippines. The Secretary of War requested Captain Mens to put his claim in writing, when it would receive due consideration.

Mr. Jose Turiano Santiago then asked, and was granted, permission to speak.

Mr. Santiago. I am the most humble man who has addressed you to-day. Mine is the voice of the poor—the voice of the laborers, members of the Labor Union of the Philippines, and of all other laborers throughout the islands.

The Secretary of War. What do you mean by laborers? To what class do you refer as laborers?

Mr. Santiago. Laborers of all trades.

The Secretary of War. Hired laborers?

Mr. Santiago. I refer to all classes, consolidated into a general association.

The Secretary of War. Go ahead.

Mr. Santiago. This is a social question, that of capital and labor, the eternal question in all countries. It has been said and published and it is our conviction that the purpose of the Secretary of War in holding this meeting is to hear all complaints. We wish to make known what we suffer in our poor homes, morally and materially. We wish to have our present position improved, and we have this confidence in coming here, because we know that our voice will reecho to a government and to a people who have proclaimed democracy. We have very many complaints, honorable sir, and those of an economic order, we the laboring men would state as follows:

While the rents of our homes and of the land which we occupy, the food which we are obliged to purchase, the clothing which we have to wear, and all the staple articles that are necessary to us are very high-priced, our wages are too low, and it appears that we are to lose the hope of obtaining by peaceful representations any improvement, because, honorable sir, whenever there comes any peaceful protest from the laborers, in order that the disinherited of fortune may make use of the only means left to them, the means which is made use of in all civilized countries, the means which has been taught and practiced by the great apostles, I will not say of socialism, but of statesmanship, in European and American countries—when we resort to the strike we have against us, at the side of the capitalist who oppresses us, all of the instruments of government, from the prosecuting attorney's office down to the most humble agent of police who arrests us. I shall tell the truth, as I am a man and have the weaknesses of a man. These declarations that I am going to make to you might, perhaps, put me

in the same category as those who have advocated independence, though what I advocate is social reform, and I speak for the thousands of laborers who are suffering from the conditions that prevail here. In the political order, I may say, we can find the cause of all our evils, which we have so sincerely laid bare to you. We have a popular chamber, the Philippine Assembly, which genuinely represents the Filipino people. We have this chamber to which we might appeal and to which we have decided to appeal during all the time that it shall exist, to put a stop to our evils and our sufferings, but we see, and with regret we see—and we must be sincere in telling you this—that this chamber, composed of the genuine representatives of the Filipino people, who did not hesitate to sacrifice themselves for their ideals, and that genuinely represents the hearts and minds of the people, is without real power. It appears that this popular chamber, when we appeal to it to carry out the purposes of the people, will turn to us and say that they are merely there to carry out the will of the sovereign.

The Assembly not very long ago rejected the Payne bill by a very large majority, and yet, against its will, against wind and weather, the Payne bill came into existence. We wish to keep this Assembly, we wish to exalt it, but we wish that the voice of this Assembly shall be heard, and shall never be strangled; that the Assembly shall really have in practice the full autonomy to which it is entitled as the representation of the Filipino people. We do not wish to refer to any other concrete complaint, although we could mention many; we have presented this in concrete form in order to make a concrete example of our complaints in this one case.

We wish that an elective senate be organized as soon as possible, so that in some manner we may be able to have some guarantee of the acts of the popular chamber. There are laws, honorable sir, that exist in the Philippines that are not only not agreeable to the Filipino people, but will be the cause of general future discontent. There are laws that are not only aimed at the dignity and honor of the Filipinos, but also aimed against the dignity and honor of the sovereign nation that rules here.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. To what laws do you refer?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I am going to explain. In the constitutional bill of the Philippines it has been prescribed by the American Congress, that expresses the will of the American people, that here in the Philippines no law shall be enacted which shall restrict the liberty of speech or of the press, and yet we have a libel law and a sedition law which were enacted as constitutional measures. I wish to say that they are contrary to the purposes of the act of Congress of July 1, 1902.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. If you think that, why do you not take it to the Supreme Court of the United States and have it decided?

Mr. SANTIAGO. In my private opinion, it should be taken before the Philippine Assembly.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. If it is a question of constitutional law, the Supreme Court of the United States is the only tribunal that can settle it.

Mr. SANTIAGO. The representatives of the Filipino people who are delegates to the Philippine Assembly will take charge of that matter.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. You have a plain remedy if you think those laws unconstitutional and it is better to try that and get the thing settled if you think that your rights are infringed under those laws.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I am thoroughly convinced, as are also my associates, that the remedy lies in our hands, and for this reason our desire is that our popular chamber be converted into a genuine representative of the Filipino people, a genuine parliament.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. What do you mean when you say that the remedy lies in your hands?

Mr. SANTIAGO. That each one shall use the procedure that is open to him in order to seek a remedy that is legal.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. All right, you may proceed.

Mr. SANTIAGO. This is an example of some of the complaints that it is our duty to lay before you. All our complaints can be summed up in this, that we wish to have more legislative authority and autonomy given our legislative chamber; that within a very short time a Filipino elective senate should be organized, for if the same government is to rule hereafter as heretofore, all our efforts will be in vain. In the past, whatever has been approved by the lower house has been rejected by the upper house.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Are you stating facts when you say that the upper house is rejecting everything passed in the lower house?

Mr. SANTIAGO. This happens, and may happen at any time.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. My understanding is that at the last session the Assembly passed over twenty laws that were sanctioned by the Commission.

Mr. SANTIAGO. Yes, sir.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. How does that tally with your statement that the Commission disapproves everything that the Assembly passes?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I do not wish to go into too much detail.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. But isn't that a flat contradiction of facts?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I have already stated an example of where the lower house has adopted a measure and it has been rejected, referring to the Payne bill.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. I understood you to say that the Commission rejected all the acts that were passed by the lower house.

Mr. SANTIAGO I wish to say——

The SECRETARY OF WAR. But did you not say that?

Mr. SANTIAGO. Yes, sir.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. How many acts passed by the last lower house were disapproved by the Commission?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I have not the figures here.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Can you name one, except the Payne bill? Do you not know that the Assembly had no jurisdiction over the Payne bill and that that was a matter for Congress and Congress alone? The Assembly could not pass the Payne bill and could not reject the Payne bill. All that it did was to express its opinion about it.

Mr. SANTIAGO. That is our complaint, that the opinion of the Assembly in the matter was not heeded.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Congress knew what they did, and it was Congress that did not follow their wishes. The Commission had no legislative power over the subject and did not pass the bill and had no right to pass it. That was not a case of legislation by the Assembly. Now, can you name a single act that was passed by the Assembly at the last session disapproved by the Commission?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I can not at this moment.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. All right.

(NOTE.—According to the records of the division of legislative records of the executive bureau, 19 bills were presented to the Commission by the Assembly. Sixteen were approved; one was postponed until the regular session; one, referring to non-Christian provinces and therefore not coming within the jurisdiction of the Assembly, was tabled at that session and is now up for passage by the Commission; and one, providing for the remission of land and cedula taxes under certain conditions, was refused passage.)

Mr. SANTIAGO. Lastly, I should beseech the Secretary of War for something that I think lies within his jurisdiction, as it is a matter affecting insular affairs. This is a question that affects us, the workingmen. It consists in this, that those laborers who have been convicted by the courts of justice and who are at present under sentence, as some of them are, and some whose cases have been appealed, be pardoned.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Of what were they convicted?

Mr. SANTIAGO. Some have been sentenced for threats and intimidation. Others, like Doctor Gomez, have been sentenced for disregarding an injunction of the court. I have already laid bare to you the condition of our laboring class, who are entirely defenseless. I have observed that the courts of justice have been able to issue injunctions against the sacred and inalienable right of free speech.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Have they done so?

Mr. SANTIAGO. It must be understood, Mr. Secretary, that there is an injunction issued against us having free speech. We are quite willing to abide by all of the provisions of the laws at present enacted. We are agreeable that we should be made to comply with all of the provisions of the law. We wish to carry on our war by peaceful methods, and the only arms that we have are precisely those that are granted by the law.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. To what arms do you refer?

Mr. SANTIAGO. Simply the expression of our desires. There is only one arm left to us, and that is freedom of speech. The trouble is that here, whenever a strike is declared, the courts enjoin us from free speech.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Will you send to the stenographer here for me a copy of one of those injunctions of which you complain, to be published with your speech?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I can furnish many.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. I would like to have the one of which you make the most complaint. Send me the most objectionable one.

(Papers in Manila Electric Railroad and Light Company *v.* Mariano et al. are attached and marked "Exhibit 1.")

Mr. SANTIAGO. I hope that the honorable Secretary of War will not overlook our last petition, which is in favor of our brothers, among whom is Doctor Gomez, who have been sentenced by the courts. Doctor Gomez has no crime charged against

him other than having stood by the laboring men and having defended their rights. By doing this the Secretary will give us evidence by which we can prove to the people at large that we are not entirely defenseless.

Now, to conclude a poorly expressed speech, I wish to say very frankly to the Secretary of War that it is our firm conviction that so long as we do not have all the political and legislative powers in our hands it does not matter how good the administration may be, we can say, as did honorable Manuel Quezon, that we shall never be happy until we have our complete independence.

Finally, we wish to say, knowing that the Secretary of War is a member of a Cabinet of the Government and he can convey to them our desires and petitions, which are the desires and petitions of all the people, it is the general conviction of all the Filipinos and of all men who love freedom and who believe that they were born free and should live free, that they shall never be happy, and that the benefits of liberty will never be theirs so long as they are considered as colonists of another government—as men inferior to others. We reject with all the strength of our souls every assumption and every intent on the part of any sovereignty on earth who should come here to implant, as sovereign in these islands, a colonial government, because we Filipinos are not agreeable to colonial government and we do not wish it.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Have you ever seen anything coming authoritatively from Congress or the President indicating that they were going to implant a colonial government here?

Mr. SANTIAGO. No, sir.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Then are you not climbing a hill before you get to it?

Mr. SANTIAGO. But we see in practice certain proceedings that tend to colonization.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. What proceedings?

Mr. SANTIAGO. For example, the question of public employees. According to the Official Roster, which I have read, there are ₱12,000,000 paid out in salaries and wages. Two thousand six hundred and seventeen American employees receive ₱7,000,000 and 4,075 Filipinos receive ₱3,000,000. These data, taken in conjunction with the libel and sedition acts and other acts that in future we can foresee, and considering the position occupied by the Philippine Assembly—its lack of prestige—we believe, we fear, that the noble words of the unfortunate President McKinley, like the sacred and historic words of Philip II, will not be complied with in the Philippine Islands.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Then you do not believe that the Americans are sincere when they say that they expect to have the administration here fit the Filipinos for self-government? You reject the sincerity of those statements on the part of the President of the United States, who really is the one who has been the principal exponent of those expressions?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I do not reject his sincerity and good faith and altruistic views.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. If he does not reject his good faith, who else in America has made any declaration that has any authority that would indicate that the Americans are taking steps to make this a colony? That is what you stated, and I would like to know what you base it on.

Mr. SANTIAGO. In the words of President McKinley, as reported in the volume of laws——

The SECRETARY OF WAR. I am not talking about what President McKinley said, but am asking if anybody has said anything coming from America which represents authoritatively the views of the American people, indicating that the Government there has in view the colonization of the Philippines.

Mr. SANTIAGO. Nobody.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Then, I think you have made an unfounded and reckless statement.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I have a foundation for my statement.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Then, what is it?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I base my fears on the fact that the Filipinos do not need to be prepared for self-government; that they have already proved by the past that they are fit for self-government.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Then, because President Taft has announced the policy of preparing the Filipinos for self-government and you think they are now prepared for self-government, you think that the continuation of that policy on the part of President Taft indicates a purpose to colonize the Philippines?

Mr. SANTIAGO. No, sir.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. I know of no authoritative statement upon the part of anyone who has the right to speak on the part of the American people which would indicate any purpose on the part of the American people to hold the Philippines as colonies, and I have never heard any such views advanced there by anyone in authority.

Furthermore, my opinion is that any such declaration would meet with a prompt protest from the American people, and it would not express their intentions.

Mr. SANTIAGO. The only thing I wish to say is, that from this opinion—that we are not prepared for self-government and that preparation is necessary, and our own opinion that we are prepared—we derive the result that, should we fail to give expression to our views now, we can not but foresee a time, during the period of our preparation and before the time that the government of the Philippines is turned over to us, when certain social and political questions will arise affecting the people of the United States, or affecting the Filipino people, either in the form of legislation or otherwise, which will bring about certain procedures that will lead us to the condition of colonists. Now, to give an example. Let us suppose that a great deal of American capital came to the Philippine Islands, and that it should be invested largely in agriculture, industry, and manufacturing in the Philippine Islands. In such a case, should the American capitalists get the idea that if the government were turned over to the hands of the Filipinos the Philippine government would destroy all of the concessions and privileges which they enjoyed under the American administration, they would undoubtedly oppose any change in the government.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Suppose they did; do you suppose that they are stronger than the good faith of the American people?

Mr. SANTIAGO. No, sir.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Well, I think you had better wait until the American people do something to indicate that they have the intent of colonizing the Philippines. I do not think it does any good, when declarations have been made by Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft, and have been apparently sanctioned by Congress, indicating a purpose to bring these people up to a standard of government whereby there will be devolved upon them the responsibilities of their own government, to sow the seeds of distrust in the American people and to impugn their good faith. Now, I have such good faith in the purpose of the American people that, holding the views that I do with regard to the Philippines, if I thought they were taking steps under the guise of doing what they are saying, really to accomplish something different from what they say they are doing, I would not be here.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I congratulate myself very highly in being informed of the sentiments of the Secretary of War, and I fully believe in his sincerity and in the sincerity of the American people. It is for this reason, that we have faith in the American people and in their sincerity, that we are trying to tell the truth to the high representative of the American Government. I believe sincerely in the good faith of the declarations mentioned by the Secretary of War, but, exercising the right that is ours to discuss questions freely, we wish to make known, once and for all, our sentiments, our intimate conviction, and our most earnest desire, which is that, as soon as possible, today, even, our people be given self-government—that our people be given their independence. We trust in this; it was for this reason that our popular chamber, whose members were duly elected by popular suffrage of the Filipino people, has not desired to importune the American people, because it has faith in that, having complied with the requirements exacted of us and demonstrated our capacity, those promises will be fulfilled. The Assembly, however, has brought up the question of independence itself, and has delegated Mr. Quezon——

The SECRETARY OF WAR. I know that, and Mr. Quezon has made speeches to that effect, but I wish to know your views, and will present them to the President of the United States.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I thank you in advance for anything you may be able to do for us, and I will make known the views of the honorable Secretary of War to those whom I represent.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. It is now 10 minutes past 1. I have been here since 10 o'clock, but if anyone desires especially to be heard, of course I will wait. Unless some one desires to be heard we will bring the session to a close.

Mr. ARCADIO C. GINGRO. Honorable Secretary, I had desired to seize this opportunity to talk of the independence of the Filipino people, but as some of the gentlemen who have preceded me have spoken of that matter and have expressed my ideas very well, I will leave it to one side and treat of another matter.

There are several colleges in these islands, some of which were established by the government and some by the people—public and private schools. The corporation act in one of its provisions says that private colleges and schools can issue no diplomas unless they have been acknowledged and recognized by the government.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. What does he mean by "diplomas?"

Mr. FERGUSSON. He means degrees.

Mr. GINGRO. A great many of these private schools have not been recognized by the government up to the present time, and I do not think that the failure to recognize some of these schools on the part of the government was due to any lack of confidence in the persons who are directing them. The department of public instruction has refused to recognize some of these private schools for the reason that the schools occupy very small buildings and do not have the proper equipment and materials to carry on the regular course of instruction according to the requirements of the department of public instruction. Some of the private schools are unable to meet the requirements of the department of public instruction for the reason that they have not got the money. Take the case of the Colegio Filipino, of which I was the director. It has ceased to exist. Various Filipinos have been graduated by this college and given diplomas, and some of them occupy high positions in the government, and they are no less popular and no less worthy men than some of those who have come from the public schools. Before the corporation act was enacted this college did not have sufficient equipment, according to the present requirements, and yet the board of directors and the faculty generally were able to graduate a good many scholars, some of whom are attorneys and some members of the Assembly. I ask that the rights of private schools be recognized and greater facilities be given them.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Has this matter been taken up with the Governor-General?

Mr. GINGRO. I think there was a bill introduced in the Philippine Assembly on this matter making the requirements easier.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Did it pass or did it fail?

Mr. GINGRO. If I remember rightly, it was approved by the Assembly.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Was it disapproved by the Commission?

Mr. GINGRO. I believe the Commission did reject the bill.

(The legislative records of the Philippine Commission show no such bill as having ever been presented to the Commission or considered by that body.)

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him to take this matter up with the Governor-General. If he does not get any remedy there, then bring it to my attention, and I will consider it. If I were to take up everything of that sort that had not been considered in the regular channels, I would simply disorganize all government here.

Mr. FERGUSSON. These regulations to which he refers were probably made by the secretary of public instruction.

Mr. GINGRO. We have tried to get some remedy.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. In what way?

Mr. REYES. The secretary of public instruction was asked to recognize the diplomas issued by private schools.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. I suppose that was denied.

Mr. GINGRO. The only answer I got from the secretary of public instruction was that the private schools did not have the proper housing and equipment for conducting the same.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him if he took the matter up with the Governor-General.

Mr. GINGRO. No, sir.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him that is the very reason we have a Governor-General. He is the head authority here, with power over these other things to correct any wrong that exists. It is not contemplated that the War Department will take the initiative in matters of this sort. It will only act in cases where there is some wrong done and after all the remedies provided here have been exhausted. If the matter comes before me from the Governor, I will look into it. This is not the proper time for me to do it.

Mr. LUCIANO DE LA ROSA. I shall try to be very brief on account of the lateness of the hour (1.20 p. m.). I think you must be hungry as well as the rest of them.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him that makes no difference. I am here to hear them.

Mr. DE LA ROSA. I shall speak very briefly. I shall speak of the present government—the workings of the administrative branch of the present government.

Since the organization of civil government in these islands there has been in operation a civil-service law. This law was enacted by the Civil Commission and regulates all public offices and positions and all Filipino and American employees are subject to its operations. They are required to pass a prior examination for any position in the government classified service. The act itself is good. Its object is to secure an efficient and honest service, but unfortunately in practice this law has been of fatal consequences for the Filipino employees. All these employees are subject to certain examinations. There are, first, second, and third grade examinations. One of these examinations must be passed by any person who desires a position in the classified

service of the government of the Philippine Islands. American and Filipino employees are subjected to the same grade of examination and afterwards, at the request of the heads of offices or bureaus in the Philippine government, are placed in some position. In such case the American has an entrance salary that is very different from the entrance salary of the Filipino, although they have both passed the same examination; passed the same grade. There is but one register. Practically there is no Filipino employee who has started in with the salary for the maximum entrance salary provided by the law. On the other hand, the American employee who has passed the first-grade examination where the entrance salary is, for example, $75 gold per month will always get the full entrance salary of $75 gold and his promotion is without limit. Now, take the case of the Filipino employee. Say that he has passed the English examination, second grade. In such case the entrance salary is not the maximum salary for the position. The most that he can get is ₱30 or ₱40 per month. This is one of the anomalies that the Filipino has noted in the present civil-service system. Among the Filipino employees there is but one sentiment, one clamor, one cry—and this applies not only to the insular employees, but also to the provincial and municipal employees. I have not the statistical data at hand at present, but I hereby bind myself to furnish same to the Secretary of War.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him to furnish it so it can come in with this report.[a] Is there anybody else who wishes to speak? If not, this session is now adjourned.

(Adjournment was taken at 1 o'clock and 27 minutes p. m.)

EXHIBIT 1.

[Translation.]

United States of America, Philippine Islands. In the court of first instance of the city of Manila. Manila Electric Railroad and Light Company, plaintiff, *v.* Patricio Mariano, Ligorio Gomez, Pio Santa Ana, José Turiano, Perfecto del Rosario, Arcadio Ginko, Antonio Montenegro, Gregorio Clemente, Sotero Morales, Timoteo Ansures, Diosdado Alvarez, Pio del Pilar, Tomás Santiago, Joaquin Balmori, Pedro Gil, Eugenio Calvez, Mariano Paguia, Aurelio Rusca, Aurelio Tolentino, J. Ernesto del Rosario, defendants. Civil No. 7154.

COMPLAINT.

Plaintiff alleges:

I. That plaintiff is a foreign corporation, duly licensed to transact business in the Philippine Islands, and having its domicile in said islands in the city of Manila; that the plaintiff has been duly granted, and now enjoys, a franchise from the government of the Philippine Islands for the operation of an electric street-railway system in the city of Manila, and is now, and during all the times herein mentioned has been, engaged in the operation of said electric street-railway system as a public carrier of passengers for hire.

II. That the defendants and each of them, acting in accordqnce with a common purpose among themselves, have, by means of printed and written letters, circulars, handbills, posters, and newspaper publications, and by means of public and private speeches, and in other ways, urged and requested many individuals and the public generally to boycott the aforesaid electric street-railway system of the plaintiff, and to desist and abstain from traveling as passengers for hire on the said street-railway system; that the defendants and each of them have threatened to continue, and unless restrained by the order of this honorable court, will continue, to urge and request individuals and the general public to boycott said electric street-railway system, and to desist and abstain from becoming passengers for hire thereon; that plaintiff is informed and believes, and therefore alleges, that the continuance by defendants of the conduct hereinbefore recited will induce and persuade many persons to boycott said electric street-railway system, and to desist and abstain from becoming passengers for hire thereon, and will thereby cause great and irreparable damage to the plaintiff.

III. That the defendants, and others conspiring with them, have sought and are seeking to induce the plaintiff to employ persons whom the plaintiff is unwilling to employ, and to adopt methods and procedure in the conduct of its business which plaintiff is unwilling to adopt, and have sought and are seeking to impose their will and judgment upon the plaintiff in the conduct of its own affairs, in substitution for

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[a] Data referred to was not furnished.

the will and judgment of plaintiff's officers and authorized representatives; that the defendants are not engaged in business as public carriers of passengers, and, in their aforesaid past conduct and intended conduct, have no other purpose than to compel the plaintiff to accede to their wishes, as aforesiad, and to annoy, harass, and damage the plaintiff in revenge for the plaintiff's refusal to accede to such requests; that the information upon which this allegation is made consists of the statements which have been written and published by the defendants; and that, while the plaintiff has received information from various sources that the real motive which has actuated many, if not all, of the defendants in their conduct is the desire to secure political preferment and notoriety, the ostensible reasons for the said acts on the part of the defendants are those heretofore set forth in this paragraph.

IV. That none of the defendants, nor all of them together, have property sufficient to reimburse the plaintiff for the loss and damages which will naturally and probably follow from the aforesaid intended conduct of the defendants; that such loss and damages can not be definitely proven as to amount, and that the commission or continuance during the pendency of this action, of the acts hereinbefore complained of will probably work an injustice to the plaintiff.

Wherefore, plaintiff prays:

1. That a preliminary injunction be issued by this honorable court, requiring the defendants, and each of them, to refrain from urging, requesting, or advising any person, or the public generally, whether by word of mouth or by written or printed communication, or otherwise, to boycott the electric street-railway system of the plaintiff, or to desist or refrain from becoming passengers for hire on such street-railway system.

2. That, in accordance with the provisions of Act No. 1427, this complaint be received by the court in English alone, and that the plaintiff be granted a period of ten days within which to serve and file a translation thereof into Spanish.

3. That, after a trial herein, the preliminary injunction to be granted in accordance with paragraph 1 of this prayer be made perpetual.

4. That the plaintiff recover the costs of this action of the defendants, and have such other and further relief as may be just and proper.

Manila, P. I., May 29, 1909.

BRUCE & LAWRENCE,
Attorneys for plaintiff,
No. 15 Plaza Moraga, Manila.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, *City of Manila, ss.:*

C. B. Graves, being first duly sworn, deposes and says: That affiant is the second vice-president and general manager of the plaintiff in the above-entitled cause; that affiant has read the foregoing complaint, and is conversant with the facts therein recited; that the allegations of the foregoing complaint are true, except as to those made upon information and belief, and as to such the affiant believes them to be true.

C. B. GRAVES.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, in Manila, P. I., this 29th day of May, 1909, the said C. B. Graves exhibiting to me his personal cedula No. F–1539001, issued at Manila, P. I., on the 26th day of May, 1909.

[SEAL] W. H. LAWRENCE,
Notary Public.

My commission expires December 31, 1910.

[Translation.]

United States of America, Philippine Islands. In the Court of First Instance of the city of Manila. Manila Electric Railroad and Light Company, complainant, *v.* Patricio Mariano, Ligorio Gomez, Pio Santa Ana, José Turiano, Perfecto del Rosario, Arcadio Ginko, Antonio Montenegro, Gregorio Clemente, Sotero Morales, Timoteo Ansures, Diosdado Alvarez, Pio del Pilar, Tomás Santiago, Joaquin Balmori, Pedro Gil, Eugenio Galvez, Mariano Paguía, Aurelio Rusca, Aurelio Tolentino, J. Ernesto del Rosario, defendants. Civil, No. 7154. Summons.

To the defendants above mentioned:

By these presents you are required to appear at the office of the clerk of this Court of First Instance of the city of Manila within the twenty (20) days after the service of this summons if it shall have been served in this city, and if not, within forty (40) days, to answer the complaint which is attached to this, in the period fixed by the regu-

lations of this court: And, if within the time fixed, you shall fail to appear, the plaintiff shall have the right to ask that judgment by default be rendered, and may claim from this court the remedy which it asks in its complaint.

Given by the Hon. A. S. Crossfield, judge of this Court of First Instance, on the 29th day of May, 1909.

J. McMICKING,
Clerk of the Court of First Instance of the City of Manila.

Copy.

J. McMICKING,
Sheriff of Manila.

[Translation.]

United States of America, Philippine Islands. In the Court of First Instance of the city of Manila. Manila Electric Railroad and Light Company, plaintiff, *v.* Patricio Mariano, Ligorio Gomez, Pio Santa Ana, José Turiano, Perfecto del Rosario, Arcadio Ginko, Antonio Montenegro, Gregorio Clemente, Sotero Morales, Timoteo Ansures, Diosdado Alvarez, Pio del Pilar, Tomás Santiago, Joaquin Balmori, Pedro Gil, Eugenio Galvez, Mariano Paguía, Aurelio Rusca, Aurelio Tolentino, J. Ernesto del Rosario, defendants. Civil, No. 7154.

Greetings:

The plaintiff having entered a complaint before this Court of First Instance of Manila in the case above entitled, against the defendants, Patricio Mariano, Ligorio Gomez, Pio Santa Ana, José Turiano, Perfecto del Rosario, Arcadio Ginko, Antonio Montenegro, Gregorio Clemente, Sotero Morales, Timoteo Ansures, Diosdado Alvarez, Pio del Pilar, Tomás Santiago, Joaquin Balmori, Pedro Gil, Eugenio Galvez, Mariano Paguía, Aurelio Rusca, Aurelio Tolentino, and J. Ernesto del Rosario, who are mentioned above, and having likewise prayed for the issue of a preliminary injunction against said defendants, so that each of them shall refrain from continuing to perform certain acts mentioned in the complaint and more particularly detailed further on in this mandate; having viewed said complaint, the oath as to its truthfulness taken by the complainant, through its second vice-president and general manager, C. B. Graves, and being satisfied that this is a case in which an injunction should be issued on account of the alleged motives being sufficient, and the complainant having given the bond required by the law, to the amount of five thousand (₱5,000) pesos, Philippine currency.

By these presents, it is ordered by the undersigned, judge of this court of First Instance, that until further orders you, the said Patricio Mariano, Ligorio Gomez, Pio Santa Ana, José Turiano, Perfecto del Rosario, Arcadio Ginko, Antonio Montenegro, Gregorio Clemente, Sotero Morales, Timoteo Ansures, Diosdado Alvarez, Pio del Pilar, Tomás Santiago, Joaquin Balmori, Pedro Gil, Eugenio Galvez, Mariano Paguía, Aurelio Rusca, Aurelio Tolentino, and J. Ernesto del Rosario, and all of your lawyers, attorneys, agents, and the rest of the persons who work in your behalf, shall refrain from soliciting, praying, or advising any person at all, or the public in general, whether verbally or by means of printed communication or by writing, or in any other manner whatever, to take part in a boycott against the electric tramway system of the plaintiff or to refrain or abstain from becoming passengers on said electrical tramway system.

Given in Manila, on May 29, 1909.

A. S. CROSSFIELD,
Judge of First Instance of Manila.

Appendix C.

[Translation.]

Letter of the Nacionalista Party.

Manila, *September 1, 1910.*

Mr. Secretary: The Nacionalista Party believing that it interprets the feelings of all its members honors itself in directing to you this statement of facts to call your attention to the true general aspiration of the people of these islands, whose interests, well-being and happiness the United States has assumed control of in establishing its sovereignty over the Philippine Archipelago.

The Nacionalista Party was organized in the year 1906, and promptly obtained popular favor. It has committees established in almost all the towns of the Archipelago, and represents approximately 81 per cent of the popular suffrage. At present of 81 members of the Philippine Assembly, it has 66, and of 31 provincial governors, it has 23.

This party aspires to the immediate independence of the country, because it believes the Filipino people endowed with those conditions necessary to establish and maintain a stable government of law and order, as has been proven by the existence of what was the government of the Filipino republic in the years 1898 and 1899. The period of experiment which has passed during the American sovereignty is ample to demonstrate that the Filipinos know how to make use of civil and political liberty, and to comply with and to force compliance with the laws, to avoid disorders, prevent abuses, and live in accordance with the practices of civilized communities. It is for this reason that we believe that the transfer of political control to the Filipinos can not signify any sort of disturbance within the country, or danger to the life, property, or liberty of residents therein, but on the contrary the maintenance and preservation of the essential principles for which are established governments, law and order, and guaranties of liberty and justice for everybody.

The independence of the Philippine people will be a due satisfaction for the efforts and sacrifices made by Filipinos in acquiring cultivation and western civilization, and a compliance with the sacred principles of equality and liberty of the people consecrated in the Declaration of Independence of the United States of North America.

The indefinite retention of the Philippine Islands tends to produce racial antagonism, misunderstanding and reciprocal jealousy among a people whose interests in the extreme Orient should be allied, makes difficult the rapid development of the national aptitude of the Filipinos in the management and defense of their own interests, and sacrifices the future of a young people desirous of following the examples of the oldest in their fruitful work for the good of progress and of the life of humanity.

In this brief exposition in which we will review the accomplishments and facts which have revealed the aptitude of Filipinos for independent self-government, and will consider some questions which affect the problem of the relations between America and the Philippine Islands, it will be necessary to separate all the matters into various chapters with the following headings:

I. Capacity demonstrated by the Filipinos in the organization of a popular self-government.

II. The capacity of the Filipinos demonstrated during American control.

III. Alleged obstacles to independence; their consideration.

IV. Obstacles to the indefinite retention of the Philippine Islands preparatory to their independence.

I.

Capacity Demonstrated by the Filipinos in the Organization of a Popular Self-Government.

It is important to set forth some historic facts which bear on the aspiration of the Filipinos for independence, and makes patent the aptitudes of the people in sustaining a popular independent government.

The Philippine Islands were under the domination of Spain from the 19th of May, 1571, when Legaspi took possession of them in the name of Philip II. The laws

approved in the beginning for the administration of insular affairs were beneficent and protective in an extreme degree for the natives of the colonies. The Spanish people in the greatness of its then power felt itself impelled to carry the light of Christianity and of civilization to the inhabitants of the darkest places of the earth. It believed, honestly, that it was called by Providence to govern foreign people, even by means of violence, with the object of making them happy, bringing to them knowledge of the true God and to administer their interests paternally. The Philippine Islands were governed in accordance with this altruistic sentiment, and the Filipinos were effectively converted to Christianity and educated in what progress and European civilization means.

The Filipinos at the end of three hundred years constituted a homogeneous people, with national aspirations, political ideals, and love of progress and liberty. Nevertheless, the paternal régime continued as at the beginning, based on the false idea that the people was a child whose will and opinion should not be taken into account to determine matters bearing on its own interest. The people understood on the other side that the colonial régime in force did not favor its rapid progress to place it at the height of the civilized people of the earth. The doctrines relating to the right of man and citizenship had advanced in the conscience of the Filipinos, and as such rights were not recognized under the colonial régime, they were consequently demanded. The people by public subscription and in other ways paid for the sending of various Filipinos to Madrid to beg necessary reforms in the insular administration. The idea that the Filipino people should have the same political and civil rights as the Spanish people and some voice in the administration of its own affairs was the limit of the campaign intrusted to the Filipinos sent to Spain.

The denial by the Spanish authorities of the petitions of the people began to produce discontent among the Filipinos, and the idea that they were an object of political abuse was readily accepted. The distance from the place where this colony was governed, the intrigues of the insular officials to create the belief in the governing authority of the metropolis of the inadvisability of reforming the policy and insular administration, and the suspicions of which those Filipinos who begged reforms were the object were so many causes to prevent an appreciation of the justice of the popular demands and contributed to maintain and increase the general discontent and provoked hatred toward that régime.

The hatred of what was considered political tyranny culminated in 1896, when Andrés Bonifacio, a man coming from the working mass, started an insurrectional movement against Spain which acquired great proportion, and ended in the so-called treaty of "Biak-na-bato." In virtue of this treaty the leaders of the insurrection promised to accept the program of reforms which, as they were made to understand, would be brought about if they laid down their arms, but as nothing was subsequently done, the insurrection continued, and on the opening of the Spanish-American war in April, 1898, the Filipinos believed there had arrived an opportunity of fighting determinedly for independence, expecting to count for this purpose on American aid. The American naval forces destroyed the Spanish fleet, occupied the Bay of Manila and the port of Cavite, while the Filipinos under the orders of Aguinaldo organized an army and took all the provinces of the archipelago from the power of the Spanish. This ended practically the Spanish sovereignty in the islands.

TYPE OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

There was immediately organized a Philippine government in all the occupied places. The government was dictatorial at the beginning, but this condition only lasted a month, or that is the absolutely necessary time that Aguinaldo employed in exciting the spirits of his compatriots in favor of Philippine independence. During this time Aguinaldo, "understanding that the first duty of all government is to interpret faithfully the popular aspirations," and understanding further "the present necessity of establishing in each town a solid and robust organization, the firmest bulwark of public security and only measure of assuring union and discipline indispensable for the implantation of the republic, or, that is, the government of the people for the people," published a decree giving instructions to the people that were liberated from the Spanish control to change the form of government in their respective localities. The before-mentioned instructions outlined a type of popular government simple and suitable to those moments of transition. It was provided that "so soon as the town is free from the Spanish domination those residents most distinguished by their learning, social position, and honorable conduct, as well in the center of the towns as in the barrios, should unite in a general meeting and elect by majority votes a chief of the municipality and three delegates, one of police and interior order, another of justice and civil register, and another of taxes and property, and a chief or head of

each barrio," all of whom will form the popular junta. "The chiefs of the municipalities after having obtained the views of their respective juntas will unite and will elect by majority votes a chief of the province and three councilors for the three departments above named." These officials with the chief of the provincial capital will form the provincial council.

There was no difficulty in the application of these instructions, and the towns and provinces which were under the jurisdiction of the dictatorial government worked in conformity therewith. On June 23, 1898, Aguinaldo resigned his dictatorial powers in the revolutionary government, "whose object is to struggle for the independence of the Philippine Islands until the free nations, including Spain, recognized it expressly, and to prepare the country for the implantation of a true republic." The evident object of Aguinaldo in resigning his dictatorship was to give promptly to the people guaranties of a civil government as most conformable to the character of the new institutions implanted. The revolutionary government preserved the popular form of provincial and municipal governments under conditions heretofore stated. The central government was organized with the president as chief of the government and executive power, assisted by four department secretaries, namely, foreign relations, marine and commerce; war and public works; police and interior order; treasury, agriculture, and industry, with a revolutionary congress as the legislative power, whose members were to be elected in the same manner prescribed for the election of the provincial officials. To this revolutionary congress was given true independence, since "the president of the government may not prevent in any way whatever a reunion of congress, nor interfere with sessions thereof," and with a commission of the congress presided over by the vice-president, and assisted by one of the secretaries of the same, as supreme court to take cognizance on appeal of criminal matters passed on by the provincial councils. The popular juntas and provincial councils were at the same time competent tribunals to take cognizance of civil and criminal matters, with their respective jurisdictions well defined.

It is important to take note of these details to understand properly what was the object of the government that the Filipinos by themselves, without aid or council of anyone, proposed to adopt, having in mind their conditions and political views. The fact that the Filipinos had refused to reestablish the old institutions, and that they had created others—new ones—made it clear that the Filipinos not only had their own political ideas, but likewise that their ideals are the most advanced that the progress of time has shown. The revolutionary government was, as has been seen, in its essence popular. In all the governmental divisions the people were represented by officials elected by them. This is especially shown if we refer to the organization of the judicial power which was from top to bottom officered by elected officials.

THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED.

The authority of the revolutionary government was extended in a few months to all the islands composing the archipelago by express recognition of their inhabitants. It was questioned in no part of Luzon, of the Visayas, or of Mindanao after the people were delivered from the Spaniards. The chiefs of the various non-Christian tribes of the north of Luzon who never submitted to Spanish domination sent messages acknowledging the government then established. Prominent Mohammedan chiefs of the island of Mindanao gave their spontaneous and sincere adhesion. The different grades of civilization, the accidental differences of religion, habits, and dialects, which are always exaggerated by those who are interested in presenting the Filipinos as incapable of instituting an independent self-government, were no obstacle to make difficult in any way the establishment of said Philippine government or the normal exercise of its authority over all the islands. The Filipinos on displaying their national unity under that government consecrated likewise its legitimacy under the principle that the power of the government comes from the consent of the governed.

THE PHILIPPINE CONSTITUTION.

In September, 1898, the revolutionary congress opened its sessions. All the provinces of the Archipelago were represented therein. After the work of organization, congress devoted all its time to drawing up a constitution. On the 20th of January, 1899, the Filipino constitution was approved and placed in force immediately thereafter.

If the spirit and letter of this constitution be considered, it will be seen that its provisions contain all the principles of law, order, and liberty contained in the modern constitutions of the world.

Title I defines the Philippine republic, and declares that the sovereignty resides exclusively in the people. Title II establishes the form of popular representative

government, alternative and responsible, with three distinct and independent powers. Title III recognizes the separation of the church and state and the liberty and equality of all religions. Title IV contains the declaration of individual rights to life, property, freedom of thought, reunion and association, foundation of schools, and petition to authorities, the exercise of profession or industry, and prescribes the guaranties of these rights. Authorizes the same rights and guaranties to foreigners and permits the latter to acquire Philippine citizenship by naturalization papers, and residence during two years in any territory of the republic. Establishes obligatory military service, popular gratuitous and obligatory instruction, civil trial for all crimes, prohibits institution of primogeniture and the entailing of property, the accepting and authorizing decorations and titles of nobility. Title V establishes a representative assembly in which resides the legislative power. Representatives will be such of the nation, and may not receive any imperative mandate from their electors. They may not be molested for their opinions or votes nor imprisoned without authority of the assembly. The assembly may try the highest officials of the government for crimes against the state. Title VI constitutes a permanent commission of the assembly during the closing of the sessions to decide on certain specific matters. Title VII declares the president of the republic chief of the executive power which he exercises through his secretaries. Questions relating to private interests of the municipalities correspond to the provincial and popular assemblies and to the central administration on the base of the amplest decentralization and economy. Title VIII provides the election of the president of the republic by means of a constituent assembly by absolute majority of votes. The term is for four years with reelection. The president may initiate laws and is obliged to promulgate those which have been approved. Title IX provides for a council of government composed of a president and seven secretaries, who are collectively responsible before the assembly for the general policy of the nation, and individually for their personal acts. Title X declares that the judicial power rests in the supreme court and other tribunals provided by law, empowering any citizen to bring action against the individuals of the judicial power for crimes committed in the exercise of their offices. Title XI provides that the organization and powers of the provincial and popular assemblies will be fixed by law under certain conditions. Title XII regulates the administration of state. Title XIII provides methods and form of amending the constitution. Title XIV provides that all officials must swear to support the constitution. Adopts as official language the Spanish. Temporarily places in force the Spanish laws and regulations as to the exercise of civil rights of citizens.

There can be no doubt that this constitution not only represents the grade of cultivation of men that drew it up, but that it shows likewise that the Filipinos considered a system of popular government as that most suited to their conditions and the experiences of the country. They did not think of copying and imitating the institutions with which they were most familiar. On the contrary, they constructed a system radically contrary to that which had been in force here for several centuries. In none of the lines of this constitution is observed a tendency to maintain any sort of oligarchy, but in all of them are imprinted democratic principles more accentuated, perhaps, than in many of the republican constitutions of the day. The Philippine constitution, as it was drawn up by representatives of the revolutionary congress, portrays with fidelity more than any other act of the Filipinos of that time the aspirations and political ideals of the people of the islands.

CONDITIONS WHICH PREVAILED UNDER THAT GOVERNMENT.

In the conditions of order, tranquillity, and progress which prevailed under the authority of the revolutionary government, there was clearly displayed the good dispositions of these people for the direction of their own affairs. A decree of Aguinaldo abolishing all gambling privileges and cockfighting taxes, "because they tend only to ruin the people, with slight advantage to the public treasury," was sufficient that the people should give up completely their ancient favorite practices. Crimes and ordinary misdemeanors diminished notably in number. There were enjoyed as in no time entire security, well-being, and content. The parties of bandits which from the most remote periods were accustomed to disturb the order voluntarily disappeared. The spirit of cooperation of the people in the measures of the government for good order and progress was evidenced by the liberal treatment of the Spanish prisoners, the respect to foreigners, the attendance at school, and the return to customary field work in those places in which the revolutionary condition had ceased.

The government on its part, without neglecting provisions for war, consecrated itself to organize the most important and urgent public services. The corps of civil physicians to watch over sanitary conditions, hygiene, and urbanization of the provinces was established. There was created a civil register in all the municipalities.

The chiefs of the municipalities were authorized to act provisionally as notaries in the authentication of documents and extrajudicial acts. There was founded a university to teach law, medicine, pharmacy, and notaryship, and the institution "Burgos" for studies of the general high-school class, and there was ordered the reopening of all the municipal primary schools. All the provincial councils and popular juntas were ordered to proceed to the repair and preservation of roads, bridges, and public buildings, because "the ways of communication were one of the causes which contribute to material and moral progress of every country." There was created an institute for vaccination to prepare and distribute vaccine to all the provinces. There was established a bureau of census and statistics. There was organized a corps of communications to regulate the sending of correspondence and telegraphic dispatches between the towns and provinces.

The government not only organized practically all the public services which existed under the Spanish government, but likewise adopted various provisions which showed its good desire to watch over the general interest, prohibiting the sale of copra which is not thoroughly dry "as prejudicial to the credit of commercial articles," and the slaughtering of carabao useful for agricultural purposes, "because they might be better used in the fields."

THE OPENING OF HOSTILITIES.

On the 23d of January, 1899, in accordance with the constitution, proclamation of the Philippine republic was made in the town of Malolos; Aguinaldo was proclaimed chief of said republic. But shortly thereafter, that is, on the 4th of February, occurred the opening of hostilities between Americans and Filipinos. This outbreak was a surprise for the Filipinos. But the moral union of the people and Philippine government was displayed during the new condition of war. Aguinaldo published a proclamation ordering the war, and his order was obeyed in all sections. The American forces encountered open resistance wherever they were, and had to forcibly capture or force the Philippine forces to surrender by superiority of resources. The spirit of resistance terminated toward the end of 1901, and the Filipinos, through the efforts made by some of their compatriots, agreed to recognize American domination.

II.

The Capacity of the Filipinos Shown During American Control.

Nothing can indicate better the capacity of the people for independent government than the spontaneous adhesion that the same people is giving to the essential democratic principles which inspire the present government and its cooperation in the many steps that have been taken for the betterment of the intellectual, moral, social, and material conditions of the people.

If this people should be lacking in those conditions necessary for progress, doubtless any effort in that direction undertaken by the American Government would have been fruitless. It would not be true to affirm that all the progress realized in the Philippine Islands has been due to the energy and talent of the government, since without the cooperation of the people, without the practical sense indispensable to appreciate good, no beneficent work would have been carried successfully to a termination.

A résumé setting forth the manner in which the Filipinos have conducted themselves in the exercise of the powers conferred on them under the present government will show us that the conception and application by the Filipinos of a popular government are entirely satisfactory.

PUBLIC ORDER.

The satisfactory state of public order in the islands has been brought about with the aid and efforts of the Philippine people. The work of the American Army doubtless has been a factor in finishing the war and establishing peace, but the maintenance of order and tranquillity after the period of the war is due to the determined attitude and to the decided interest of the people to pursue in peace the struggle for their political ideals and to consecrate themselves to the cause of progress and prosperity destroyed by six years of disturbance. This attitude reveals nothing but good, practical sense—the good disposition which this people has of considering existing conditions in the determination of its national convenience.

Public order is maintained in the municipalities and provinces by Filipino officials and agents with the exception of some chiefs and officers of the constabulary. The agricultural work and the operations of commerce are effected with the greatest tranquillity and security for all. The violations of order and the local disturbances occa-

sioned by misdemeanors are not numerous, so that the Philippine people may sustain in this matter a favorable comparison with any of the most civilized countries of the world. The good disposition of the people toward the maintenance of order and the discipline of the law is evidenced most pathetically, taking into consideration that there has passed but a short time since the period of war with the subsequent disturbance and that there has not disappeared from the mind of the people many of the motives and prejudices which originated in the war and provoked from time to time discontent with the present situation.

There is no little argument in favor of the orderly and disciplined spirit of the people in the fact that the exercise and practice of civil and political rights completely new to the inhabitants of these islands, such as liberty of religion and direct suffrage, have not occasioned long and bloody struggles which they have produced in nations of longer history than ours.

THE LOVE FOR AND PROGRESS IN PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

The great interest which the Filipino people has shown for education is quite evident. One of the causes frequently cited and which contributed to the discontent of the Filipinos with the Spanish régime was the monopoly exercised in instruction by the religious corporations, which showed no great desire for the instruction of the masses of the country. In reality, during that régime primary or elemental instruction received little attention. The instruction in the secondary grade and in superior and university grades was deficient and sectarian. But in the midst of such a vicious system the zeal for study and the interest of families in sending their children to the schools and colleges established in the Philippines or to Europe to acquire a more extended education were very marked. Poor families imposed on themselves all classes of sacrifices that their children might study. In many cases they begged of the rich families or their friends that they should accept their children in domestic service so as to permit them some free hours to dedicate themselves to study.

The general movement noted under American control in favor of education is not, therefore, new in the history of this country. The Filipino people appreciates the advantages given by education and information of life. It recognizes its necessity and has a sympathy and aptitude for all sorts of education. This explains the fact that the number of children attending the schools has crowded in many cases the capacity of said schools and that at times there was necessity of denying admission to pupils. This explains likewise the fact that there has not been lacking pupils in the industrial schools or others of special branches of education little or not at all known in past periods. It is a source of congratulation to be able to say that in all experiments which have taken place to prove the love of instruction or the measure of the intellectual capacity of the people the proof in our favor has been decisive.

Two years ago effort was made to open courses for nurses. This was an instruction completely unknown in the country. The education given to woman in former times—not to be for a long time absent from home, not to know or to comply with other obligations than those purely domestic, not to require of her severe and difficult labor which was considered proper only for men—appeared to give little hope for a successful outcome of the new experiment, but, in view of the results obtained, there can be no doubt that the effort has been a complete success, which speaks in favor of the aptitude of the Filipino woman for the evolution of modern civilized life. The constant increase of schools and of the attendance of children of the school age since American occupation are phenomena generally observed in all the provinces. The following statement of attendance taken from the last report of the secretary of public instruction proves this assertion:

Year.	Public schools.	Monthly attendance.
1903	2,000	150,000
1904	2,233	227,600
1905	2,727	311,843
1906	3,166	375,534
1907	3,436	335,106
1908	3,701	359,738
1909	4,194	437,735

There has been observed on many occasions a tendency to suppress or postpone the payment of land tax by the municipal or provincial governments, while at the same time they have tried to continue in force that part of said tax destined to the schools,

and when this has not been successful the consideration of closing the schools in case of failure to pay said tax has exercised such influence in the provincial and municipal governments that there have continued in full effect the provisions of the law.

In view of the foregoing demonstration, there can be no fear that the Filipino people will maintain itself in ignorance. A people that shows the live interest in being instructed such as the Filipino has shown before and now can not constitute a danger for a regular and orderly maintenance of a popular government.

THE EXERCISE OF SUFFRAGE.

One of the fears of those who considered the Filipinos incapable of popular self-government is that they would not have sufficient discretion to elect to those offices which must be filled by election the best people in the community. The exercise of suffrage by the Filipinos has shown, nevertheless, that they know how to make good use of this privilege. Up to the present the electors have been able to confide public offices to persons who could duly perform their duties as officials. In the majority of cases they are persons of intelligence and responsibility who have known how to justify their election and bring about during their official terms the betterment of their respective towns. An excellent proof of this fact is that with rare exceptions there has not been suspended or deprived of his office any provincial elective Filipino official since American domination. Nor is the percentage of municipal officials suspended or deprived of office greater than that in independent nations, especially if it is considered that not all the suspensions or deprivations of office are the result of grave faults which affect the morality and capacity of certain officials.

The good judgment and discretion of the electoral body are so manifest that the results of an election have given origin to few well-founded protests. The logical and immediate inference that we may draw from this is that there exists within the electoral body an intelligent public opinion which influences and decides emphatically the results of the elections.

An indication likewise highly favorable to the Filipino people in relation to the exercise of the suffrage is that all the elections have taken place with the greatest order in spite, many times, of the intensity of the struggle between candidates of different parties prior to the election. It is not less patent and indicative of fine discretion in the people the fact that after the elections, or after a protested election has been decided, the defeated minority shows itself definitely resigned and makes no effort to injure or obstruct the administration of the official elected, as happens in other countries that are more accustomed to the use of the suffrage. We do not wish absolutely to affirm that there are no exceptions to this rule, but that this is the rule confirms our statement that the Fillpino people is capable of managing a popular government supported by the influence of a sane and intelligent public opinion. This influence shows itself likewise in the cases of those officials who in power have not complied with their promises and duties and who later, on working for their reelection, fail in their object even though men of education, money, or influence.

ORGANIZATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND THEIR RELATIONS.

The organization of political parties under democratic régime is absolutely necessary. Political parties are organized in the Philippines, and from the beginning there was markedly displayed the two tendencies which existed in all countries in which prevailed individual liberty, namely, the conservative and the radical. Before the proclamation of the so-called organic law of July 1, 1902, there was organized the so-called Federal Party which formulated the principle of final annexation of the islands to the United States. Without affirming or discussing whether its directors and founders sincerely sustained this principle or not and whether it was changed later, the fact is they found in this formula, or rather with that of peace, a means of weakening the revolution. Forced thereto by circumstances, the people accepted peace under the American sovereignty. The Federal Party was the only party during that time, since the partisans of immediate independence of the country, in spite of having attempted to organize a party, did not obtain the consent of the American Government which qualified them as upholders and sympathizers of the revolution in arms. Later, when the organic law was promulgated different parties arose, all of which aspired to final independence for the country. The Federal Party in 1904, on seeing that the idea of annexation found no popular support, changed its original program and set forth in its place the obtaining of independence by gradual steps and successive increase of Filipino control in the administration of the government. Without weakening their views, strong in their former desires, the partisans of immediate independence formed at the end of the year 1906 a great organization entitled "Partido Nacionalista," which has extended rapidly throughout the country

because it responded better to its political aspirations. The principal program of this party is, as has been said, the immediate independence of the country.

In this manner were properly defined the two tendencies of Filipino opinion. The principals of the Federal Party, now called "Partido Progresista," represent the conservative tendency of man, and the "Partido Nacionalista" the radical tendency.

But even the conservative tendency can not now support in any manner the permanent maintenance of the present relations with North America, nor the radical tendency conceive of the employment of violent measures to bring about the change of sovereignty. One, as well as the other, believes that independence must be given to the people of the islands, and differ only in the idea as to how and when independence must be obtained.

In the relations between the men of both parties there is noted nearly always a close alliance and unity of opinion in considering matters relating to the best manner of administering local affairs under this provisional government, and although, as is natural in time of elections, there are uttered bitter censures and recriminations, the harmony which is maintained and the courtesy with which they treat each other in the course of their relations are an indication that they consider the public interest completely separate from the selfishness of faction or of party. Crises have occurred in the relations of both parties within the Assembly and out of it, and likewise in the relations between the prominent men in the same party, but such crises not having been frequent were altogether passing, ending in the greatest cordiality and respect. It is certainly flattering to the pride of the Filipinos to cite that fact which shows better than any other the practice of tolerance and of mutual consideration between both parties which occurred in the Assembly during the discussion of the Payne bill. The Progresista minority unanimously declined to assist at the sessions of the Assembly, believing itself offended at the treatment given it by the majority, but at the end of a week, through mutual explanations, the affair remained satisfactorily adjusted to both sides.

PROVINCES AND MUNICIPALITIES.

The administration of the provinces and municipalities can not but merit a favorable opinion regarding the aptitude of the Filipinos for the exercise of the powers intrusted to them. In reality, considering the provincial administration, the functions authorized to Filipinos suffer such limitations that it is frequently found that the local initiatives are crippled by the delays of a centralized régime. But in spite of this, to the energy, skill, and patriotism of the provincial governments are due the preservation of order, the progress of public instruction, the betterment of the highways, bridges, and public buildings, the introduction of sanitary and hygienic measures, and the assurance of improvements of all sorts for the well-being of the community in their respective provinces.

The municipal officials, on their part overcoming many difficulties, of which the greatest is the lack of funds, show each day a noble emulation in bettering the public service in their respective localities. If the interest displayed by the municipal officials in the construction of public edifices, particularly schools and markets, in the boring of artesian wells for public sanitation, and the improvement of neighborhood roads, in the prosecution and punishment of evil doers, and in the ornamentation and sanitation of public places, be considered, there is reason for saying that everywhere they understand the true public interest, and the officials understand at the same time that they are servants of the public well-being. The municipalities which can count on sufficient funds have realized all classes of public works that are monuments of progress and of efficiency in the public service. The majority of the municipalities naturally can not display such monuments, because of lack of resources, but all can show that they have done something for the towns and for the people, who see with deep feeling the excellent use they are making of the money provided by the payment of their taxes.

The interest with which in some places are attended the popular conferences in which instruction is given to the people of its rights and civic duties, is an argument against what is affirmed by some writers of "Caciquismo" of the local officials, which they supposed very general in the towns of the Philippine Islands. In these conferences the first who take part are the very local functionaries and young people of the schools. The Philippine Assembly initiated a law for this purpose, which is producing excellent results.

PHILIPPINE MAGISTRATES AND JUDGES.

There is a very general belief against the methods of administration of justice by oriental people, especially when the parties in litigation are not natives, but of other races. The organization of tribunals of justice in the Philippine Islands, and the

participation which has been given to the Filipinos in it, have shown the inconsistency of such belief. The Filipino magistrates and judges, whether they have sat together with Americans, or alone, can not be accused of partiality or bad faith. Some decisions of Filipino judges have given origin to suspicions among the Filipinos themselves, that they have been dictated to under executive influence; it has not been possible to confirm these suspicions and they only have their foundation in what is generally considered a defect in the present system, which confers on the executive the power to name and remove said judges. No American or foreigner has been able to formulate a just accusation against any Filipino judge for lack of competence or integrity in his decisions and methods, and this proves that the law in Filipino hands offers equal protection to everyone, native or foreigner, poor or rich. The reputation of the Filipino judge has always been very high, and this has been noted by some Americans who have familiarized themselves with the affairs of the Philippine judiciary. There is not seen then any reason to believe that if the government were Filipino, the native judges would not conduct themselves in the manner in which they now perform their duties in hearing and deciding the questions which are presented before the judges without fear or favor.

FILIPINO EMPLOYEES SUBJECT TO THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The efficiency shown by Filipinos subject to civil service in public office which they occupy, justifies the belief heretofore expressed publicly before a body of the representatives of Congress in 1905, that there were sufficient persons in the country to serve the public interests in the different branches of administration. This statement was understood apparently erroneously as an enunciation of the incorrect idea that the Filipino had of popular government, believing that there was necessary a governing class and another class obedient and submissive. But the idea which it was intended properly to express was that the administration of the public interests might be well served by a sufficient number of persons who possess the necessary intelligence and zeal for the fulfilling of their public duties. This belief has been completely demonstrated by facts.

Speaking of Filipino employees, the executive secretary, in his annual report for 1905, made the following statement: "The Filipinos have demonstrated marked capacity in many respects, and a devotion to duty and a desire to increase their knowledge, and have demonstrated that under good auspices they may execute original work of highly creditable character, which merits more praise than is generally conceded to them." All the Philippine Governors-General during the American administration have agreed on this point, and Governor-General Forbes, in his inaugural discourse, said: "I would not desire better men than the present officials and employees of the government, Americans as well as Filipinos. They may be favorably compared with any men that I have seen in my life in respect to aptitude and fidelity in compliance with duty."

PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY.

We reach the climax of this probational process. If the plain demonstrations of capacity given by the country in the other orders of public activity heretofore mentioned were not sufficient, the establishment of the Philippine Assembly, and its recognized success, give one of those incontrovertible arguments which in other affairs would bring about a decisive and final state. Summarizing in the work of reestablishing public order, there was nothing new, the Filipino people having been accustomed for many years to comply with the law and to maintain its rule almost by itself. The Filipino people is old in the practices of a life of progress and order. Thus it may be understood how the exercise of the liberty of the press, the liberty of association and assembly, the liberty of petition have not produced disturbances of any class, nor have grave disturbances been caused by the freedom of religion in a people accustomed to profess the religion of the state, and with a great majority belonging to a single religion. Guided by its profound good sense and the experience of freer people, there was settled in the courts, and not outside of them, those contentions as to ecclesiastical property, the defense of whose possession and control would have shaken in other places, we are certain, the foundations of society. In the midst of the revolution the people knew by itself how to maintain order and respect property in those towns where there was lacking a local government, due to the capture thereof by American troops and the abandonment thereof a little later by them, and consequently lacking the safeguards either of a Philippine government or of an American government. The fact that a great deal of the merit of completely reestablishing public order in the Philippines may justly be attributed to the local authority, to the people itself, should carry great weight with those who

honestly, but with little knowledge of conditions, constantly speak of the ignorance of the Philippine people and of their lack of qualifications to maintain a government of law and order, but produces no great effect with those who are more familiar with our conditions and know perfectly that nothing of this is new among us.

A stronger argument is supplied by the appropriate use of the suffrage, efficiency of Philippine officials, elective as well as appointive, and the success of local governments. We doubt if there are people who exercise the suffrage with the same purity and order as the Filipino people. We are sure that the efficiency of our public officials passes the most rigorous test. It is not ours, but American and foreign opinion which places our tribunals of justice at the highest level. And just as in the exercise of the suffrage, however great were the limitations under the past domination placed on our initiatives and the free manifestation of civic virtues, in the local governments of modern type implanted in the Philippines during this régime, there have been given those clear demonstrations of political experience that prove that the progress and the condition of instruction of the people can not be judged solely by the data that the census may give with reference to literacy, and that true political experience depends as much on the opportunities given to the people as those high virtues, valor, energy, discretion, and patriotism, which are the fruit of civilization, and are not the exclusive patrimony of any race.

Where fear would appear better founded is in the establishment of a popular assembly. The Filipinos, it was said, have not had any parliamentary experience. There were not lacking persons who, having superficially studied history and finding that the life of some parliaments had been worked out through centuries, exacted as an essential condition for the success of parliamentary liberty centuries of experience. On the other hand, elections for delegates to the Assembly had been very bitter and the triumphant party with an immense majority was the radical party, the defender of immediate independence, which had had little contact with the present régime, and which had not intervened, except when the people was called to deposit its votes.

Contrary to all the fears, contrary to all prejudice and suspicion, the Philippine Assembly was inaugurated on the 16th of October, 1907, and its organization was immediately made effective. The organization was completed in forty minutes. When there is considered the inherent difficulties in the organization of an assembly, when it is taken into account the difficult experience of the older parliaments, when the recent experience of Cuba is brought to mind, calm and reflection permit us to appreciate all the success of this decisive step taken by the Filipino people.

The practical sense of the Assembly is singularly revealed in the type of organization adopted. It is easy to understand that the representatives of the people having united for the first time, many of them coming from the provinces most remote from the capital, and the country being without fixed precedents, each one would bring a private opinion as to organization. Finally, there was adopted the type of organization of the Congress of the United States, which, as was seen later, was most adapted to our interests. Probably there was considered in this selection the idea that in this manner, selecting a type that was familiar to Congress, the latter might judge of the labor of the Assembly with greater facility and accuracy. It was not the most appropriate to deliver long and sterile orations and provoke in the Assembly those debates that are so frequent in other countries, and which, though they result in a very interesting spectacle for those that have no interest in the success of the organization, injure on the other hand the seriousness of an assembly and necessarily delay the prompt and proper dispatch of business. The lines of discretion and seriousness that the delegates adopted then in their deliberations and debates show that their intention on adopting the American rule was that of abolishing all unnecessary difficulty and to proceed with resolution and expedition in the transaction of the important business in its charge. The Filipino delegates were not ignorant of the defects which, among the advantages of regulations formed through patriotism, wisdom, and experience, appear, as in all human work, in the organization of the Congress of the United States, but placed the application of the rules in the hands of persons who knew how to interpret at the same time the true needs of the Assembly and its sentiments. There was named as president of the committee on rules a member of the Assembly, and not the speaker, and the theory of good democracy applied to the dispatch of the business of the assembly gave as a result that initiative which received a stimulus, and all the legislative business was regularly and promptly dispatched. The fact that the majority of the Assembly composed more than four-fifths of the membership, served to show the liberality and patriotism of its members, and there was conceded to the minority in spite of this not only representation in all of the committees, but the chairmanship of several of them. There were associated all and were excluded none from the labor of the Assembly; thus there was recognized and pro-

tected the minority and there were likewise fixed the foundations of an organization the results of which we are now going to see.

The Assembly entered boldly on its duties. Without passion and without hatred, forgetting that its members belonged to different political parties, that there had been a fierce struggle in the elections, there was remembered only that they belonged to a common country and the public welfare was a sacred charge placed in its hands. The highest feeling of responsibility, that responsibility of which the Filipino people had given so many and such great proofs in other moments of its history, accompanied the Assembly in its tasks. Its legislative work has been fruitful and the scalpel of study and criticism penetrated from the little local details to the organization of the central government. The task of fixing the budget was approached vigorously and there were presented proposals to simplify the present organization of the central government. Without systematic opposition, projects were defeated considered prejudicial to the people or that infringed its rights. Nothing indicates better the character of the First Assembly than the constructive tendency of its laws, and this merit, singular in a new legislative body, would merit without doubt the close considerations and lengthy study of those who may or must judge of the capacity of the Filipinos for the management of their own affairs.

Nothing was forgotten, and the resolutions of the Assembly making a public declaration of the sentiments of the people to live a free and independent life, are a monument to its loyalty and it civicism. It is not true that some of the political parties represented in the Assembly have made concrete promises of immediate independence if its members reached the Assembly, and the only thing which sustained it and which now sustains it is that the Filipino people desire it. The policy of the Assembly was conducted within the amplest tolerance and the best feeling of intelligence and cooperation, and this was done not because within or without the Assembly the Filipino people had renounced its ideals, but because it was believed that such policy would be, among other measures, a proper argument to show the justice of such ideals. In this manner when the party that obtained the majority in the first elections again presented itself to the people in the electoral campaign which preceded the Second Assembly, it received the most sincere and complete approval of the people, which elected a more considerable majority in its favor than in the past.

Education, material improvements, agriculture, industry and commerce, public health, local governments, labor—everything which has been under the consideration of the assembly received immediate and efficient attention. Two very notable tendencies of the legislation passed are, first, the profoundly democratic sense which was shown from the first instance in the law appropriating a million pesos for the schools, and in the law governing labor accidents; and second, the character of stability brought to the legislative sphere and appropriately shown in the law which provided for the revision of all the codes and the compilation of the infinite number of administrative laws now in force. When there is seen and judged with eyes free from all prejudice the result of the Philippine Assembly, which has fully justified the hopes of those that vouched for it and were responsible to Congress for its establishment, and when are considered the tremendous difficulties that in the advance of the liberty of all countries accompany the organization and operation of popular assemblies, in the serene judgment of all impartial and just men there must necessarily be admitted the basis on which the Filipino people rests in insisting on their demands which adversity and mishaps fortify and solidify, to possess the high attributes and assume the grave responsibilities of a sovereign free and independent government.

III.

Alleged Obstacles to Independence: Their Consideration.

There are some objections that the statesmen responsible for the present policy of the United States in the Philippines have presented to the natural ambition of Filipinos possessing an independent self-government. These objections are summarized briefly in the lack of preparation of the Filipinos for the exercise of the responsibilities and powers inherent in such governments on account of defective conditions, some inherent and others transitory, presented by the present state of Philippine civilization, or the nature of the Filipinos. Whether these objections have or not a solid foundation to deny or defer the transfer to the Filipinos of political control of their own affairs, is what we will consider in this chapter.

It is to be lamented, nevertheless, that the progress of political science has not established definitely the conditions of preparation which people require to be able to govern themselves, since the lack of common rule makes it little less than impossible to know if a given people has or not the necessary conditions to maintain an

independent government. Independent nations present such different conditions, such contradictory systems of government, vices and virtues so different, languages, customs, and usages so varied, that truly we can not know to a certainty what are the conditions which exist in independent nations and which are lacking in the Filipino people. This will necessarily limit our study solely to those conditions or defects of our people, or of our civilization, that are mentioned by those who are interested in not conceding independence to the Filipinos.

In the declarations made authoritatively of the American policy in the Philippine Islands, there has been frequently stated the belief that the islands would be delivered to a bloody and horrible chaos if they should be left to their fate, that the United States has the duty of educating the ignorant masses of the people until they can know their civil rights and sustain them against the abuses of the superior classes, and exercise with certainty their political rights, that if the islands should now be left to the Filipinos, the probable result would be the organization of an oppressive and cacique oligarchy, which would exploit the inferior masses and that the educated, as well as the ignorant masses of the Filipino people must be educated in the practice of political power, of which they have not had experience, until the Filipino people shows itself reasonably fit to control a popular government, maintaining law and preserving order and offering to the rich and poor the same protection of the laws and of civil rights.

DISORDER AND CHAOS.

The first point we must study, because it is the most important condition in the life of an independent government, is the question of order and the method of preserving it. The causes which are indicated as likely to generate a condition of anarchy, the government being in the hands of the Filipinos, are: (*a*) That in all periods and from the earliest days of Philippine civilization there have existed in the islands bands of ladrones who infest the provinces and control pacific residents and the forces of the government; (*b*) that the profound ignorance of the masses constitutes a constant danger to public tranquillity; (*c*) that the irresponsible power of the caciques over their ignorant fellow-citizens would always be used in cases of discontent for purposes of vengeance and to destroy the peace. Before beginning to consider these characteristics, which are believed peculiar to the present state of the country, we take note of what many impartial observers have written concerning the character of the Filipino people. The Filipino people, according to these observers, who have associated familiarly with them, is pacific by temperament, is inclined to peace, is patient, and at times even indolent in seeking reparation for offenses committed against them when they may be borne. This opinion is proven by history. In the long period of Spanish domination history scarcely records a few local disturbances; not one had a general character, except the revolution of 1896, which reappeared in 1898, and which as known was based on political motives.

During the period of the revolutionary government no grave disturbances occurred affecting the interior order of the provinces comprehended within the jurisdiction of Aguinaldo's government. Nothing then may be feared with respect to the public order and public tranquillity which may come from a natural propensity in the inhabitants of the islands for disorder and revolution, as occurs in many countries of Latin origin.

The existence of certain bands of robbers, few in number, and disturbing few provinces during the Spanish Government, were the consequences of temporary causes arising from the deficiencies of the political system in force in the islands and from the condition of poverty which prevailed among the common mass of the people. The rural inhabitants of the Phillipine Islands were unarmed against the violators of order, and the guardia civil which was spread throughout the provinces was insufficient to protect the inhabitants of the remote barrios. The terror of the guardia civil and the crimes it committed against defenseless residents tended rather to augment the number of robbers than to suppress them. The lack of means of defense and protection must always constitute a cause of public insecurity, because it is not practicable to require the residents of a neighborhood to defend themselves against the wicked members of the community who have arms and resources dangerous to their lives and properties. The condition of order during the present sovereignty improved only when the constabulary could be concentrated in a sufficient number in one or a few provinces to encourage the people to pursue robbers and to terrorize and scatter the latter by their presence. The only measure consequently to remedy such unfortunate condition is to distribute among the people sufficient arms to resist and destroy individuals who are members of such bands. Failing in this, the same state of things which formerly existed will still exist in those neighborhoods in which the police force is not sufficiently efficient by number or by arms to prevent the temporary formation of bands of three or more persons devoted to robbery and violence, especially

in the years of bad rice crops, because then hunger reduces to a truly miserable condition numbers of the residents of the mountains without other resources.

It is not to be assumed, however, that the same causes which brought about the forming of bands of robbers in former times would be revived under the government of the Filipinos. As a fact, such bands were dissipated during the government of Aguinaldo. The right to bear arms would doubtless be one of the rights which would be recognized under an independent government, and this would give to each community practical means of protecting its lives and interests against those persons prejudicial to the same. These would tend to cease their evil habits or would be exterminated in one manner or another, since there would be no other alternative. The misery of the common mass which contributed and contributes now to the formation of such bands would have to be effectively improved through suitable legislation which would give to the poor facility to acquire their lands and cultivate them.

An eloquent proof of the good disposition of the people toward preservation of order under normal circumstances was the organization of the bands which operated during the Spanish sovereignty. These were selected from the common people of the municipalities. They performed service by day in the municipality and watched by night at points outlying the resident section for the public security. They received no salary except equipment and clothing. Their duties were, when occasion necessitated, though badly armed, to seek and pursue evildoers, fight these, and arrest them. They successfully performed these duties. The men of the towns accompanied on many occasions these bands for such purposes. It is not less indicative of the spirit of order and discipline of the people that there are communities which have barely two or three policemen to guard the jail and maintain order. The lack of these is not felt on days of great feasts and crowds.

The danger of disorder feared is as small as remote.

IGNORANCE AS A MENACE TO ORDER.

There is pointed out as another of the grave menaces which might constitute a constant danger to order the ignorance of the Philippine masses who speak only one of the 15 or 16 Malay dialects, each one of which contains a very limited vocabulary which offers no means of communication with modern thought and civilization.

We do not desire in any way to deny that there really exists among the Filipino people persons not educated in schools. No one laments this situation like the Filipinos themselves—a situation due to causes altogether foreign to their will. Nevertheless, while it may be said that there are some illiterate people not prepared in the schools, it can not be said that the people is profoundly ignorant. From the fact that there are people who do not know how to read and write does not necessarily indicate that the community in which they live does not know the rights and duties appropriate to a civilized community.

Let us take as an example one of those rural communities of the islands far distant from centers of commerce and education. It is a community that lives pacifically, has a religion (the Christian), and practices its creed. Each individual constructs his home and works a piece of ground and sows what is necessary for his living. His house is small, but he keeps it clean, as well as its surrounding lot. He lives from fishing or agriculture. He does not rob or steal or kill or molest any of his neighbors. He receives the stranger cordially and shares with him all the resources that his natural hospitality permits. He pays a teacher for his children or sends them to the public school of the town. He recognizes his public authorities, to whom he appeals on all occasions when he receives some injury or other, pays his tax religiously when required to do so by the agent of the municipal authority. The community scarcely requires police because order is very rarely disturbed. All live in the greatest satisfaction, without passions, without struggle, in the midst of an enviable harmony.

We can not say that a community that lives thus is profoundly ignorant and might place in danger the security and order of the state on account of its ignorance. If we compare this community with other Filipino communities which form the municipalities and the provinces of the Archipelago and present the same sketch and characters, with the only difference that there are in these a greater proportion of instructed persons, we can not see any danger to order in confiding to such communities the government of their own interests. It is flattering to be able to say that the truth is that the so-called ignorant mass of our people so unjustly treated by our critics is sufficiently instructed in its duties of man and of citizen, and we are certain from what occurred during the revolutionary period that with the independence of the country there would be again awakened in it that stimulus to greater progress, well-being, and liberty that collective conscience and that spirit of responsibility of which it has given so many and such eloquent proofs.

Furthermore, the causes which under the past sovereignty produced the present condition of education in the people are sufficiently known, and likewise well known are the methods which should be employed to more generally spread instruction among the masses most needing it. It is reasonable to suppose that whatever government the Filipinos may have will give all possible opportunities to all the classes of the people to educate themselves in the schools. The Filipino people, as has been said in another place, is glad to instruct itself in all branches of human knowledge. It is not necessary that it be compelled to this. In the official reports there is noted with true satisfaction the natural inclination displayed by the Filipinos for education, the poorest families sending their children to school. There has been a constant increase in the number of children attending the public and private schools, so that in this year it may be reckoned that nearly 700,000 children and youths are receiving an education in the different public and private schools established throughout the archipelago.

The Philippine Assembly has always been ready to make large appropriations for the bureau of education, and this certainly indicates that if the country were independent the Philippine government would place all its interest in increasing and spreading instruction among the masses, not only because it would understand that this was its responsibility, but likewise because it would recognize the advisability of having the people instructed in order that the nation might be solid and strong. The Philippine government would be in possession of power to save a great part of the present budget destined to salaries and expend such savings in paying school-teachers and constructing school buildings in order that the progress of education might be more rapid daily in the islands.

There exists, then, in our opinion no reason whatever to fear the imagined dangers that the present state of education of the people might offer to the permanent establishment of public order under an independent government. Above the subtle conventionalisms of nations which, in spite of all, have never been able to fix with precision and uniform judgment when a people is sufficiently educated to be independent or when not, it is certain that there exists here a people old in the practices of civilized life, lovers of home and property, and enthusiastic for education and progress, obeyers of the law, all of which, far from being a danger to order, is its firmest and most secure foundation.

"CACIQUISM" AND OLIGARCHY.

There is likewise pointed out as another obstacle to good order and the establishment of democratic institutions and principles the so-called "caciquism" dominant in the country. There is mentioned the fact that in the rural municipalities of the Philippines the whole people is completely subject to the will of some educated person of alert intelligence living in the community, who knows the local dialect and who desires or knows how to excite the fears or the cupidity of his neighbors to organize a party to resist imaginary wrongs or oppression, in order to satisfy vengance or to obtain a livelihood without labor. There is said in proof of this that the history of the revolution and of the state of disorder which followed it is full of examples in which the simple country people incited by the local caciques have committed the most horrible crimes of torture and assassination, and when the authors have been arrested and prosecuted they have simply replied that the caciques of the locality had ordered them to commit the crime. There is mentioned likewise that with great frequency the presidente and other officials of the town make use of their offices to subject the ignorant residents of their respective towns to their control in the sale of agricultural products. The official acts as an intermediary in the sale and takes the greater part of the products of the person he represents. It is likewise alleged that caciquism is revealed in the most flagrant form when the Philippine municipal officials, and even provincial officials, are invested with governmental power over non-Christian tribes or over others that are not of their own race distributed through the Christian Philippine provinces. It is said that the people of these tribes are victims of abuse and oppression on the part of such Philippine officials.

The series of acts mentioned which show the existence of the so-called "caciquism" in the Philippine Islands is not truly the result solely of the state of education of the masses, but a natural product of the perversity of man of whatever time and whatever race. The instinct of profiting at the expense of one's neighbor or of satisfying certain passions and taking advantages of other men who may be convinced or seduced is not only a quality peculiar to Filipinos, but a universal human sentiment. This instinct naturally reveals itself in different forms according to the condition of the various societies, but in one form or another it exists among all people, whether they are civilized or not. He who considers himself stronger will always try to obtain some profit if he can from the weaker whether this one be ignorant or not.

The facts mentioned are not, however, very general nor are they of such gravity as those that occur in more civilized countries. The examples of caciques who have ordered the assassination or the torture of hostile persons are exceptionally rare, or so little known that there has not reached our knowledge specific cases registered in the tribunals of justice. The abuses by officials who take advantage of their official influence to serve as middlemen for some ignorant persons in the sale of their products, aside from being few, are assuredly less scandalous than those which are told of officials of independent countries who enter into illicit combinations to permit gambling houses or houses of prostitution, in the profits of which they participate.

We are not trying by this statement to apologize for these abusive acts, but the fact that they are committed, not only in this country but in all countries, although they wear different forms or aspects in each one of them, brings us to a conclusion, and it is this: That because this evil exists in the Philippine Islands is not a reason for failing to concede independence to the Filipinos. The belief that caciquism in the islands may constitute a grave danger to order is not sustained by the facts. There is nothing in the facts before mentioned and in those which the action of the caciques show which can not be corrected by the action of the courts or of the executive. It would be therefore extravagant to believe that the Filipino government would lack means or sufficient resources to punish the abuses or the disturbances which local caciquism may occasion. It would not be an error to suppose that the government being in the hands of the Filipinos and there being established naturally greater confidence between the people and the government that any act of caciquism would be more promptly denounced and consequently punished.

In relation to the existence of caciquism which thrives as is believed because the mass of the people is profoundly ignorant, there is likewise expressed the idea that in case of constituting an independent government the educated mass which would form the government would make of this an oligarchy which would tend to oppress and exploit the ignorant mass. In other words, it would be a government of caciquism. It would not be possible to ignore this fact, that by the force of circumstances and in virtue of our sociological conditions, the government must be in a certain manner in the hands of the most capable and intelligent group having knowledge of the science of government and of society. But far from this being an evil, if this group is to be the element favoring modern ideas always inspired in good and in the interest of the community, if it is to guide the others to conduct them to the object of their aspirations for progress and well-being through the means most appropriate and suitable to it and in the final analysis, it will be but the most faithful and suitable instrument of the will of the majority, there would be no mistake in placing on its shoulders the responsibility of a sovereign people.

There is likewise sufficient evidence showing that the people are educated in the practices of equality and democracy; that there will be no danger whatever of the interested and wicked preponderance of a determined group called caciquism or directing. There exists the positive and certain fact—that exactly the so-called caciquism group, responding to the desires of the entire body, has realized and is realizing the work of lifting up the spirit of the most humble masses, of aiding them to proceed in the road of progress and prosperity, of increasing the love of country and liberty. From this, one might infer that on establishing the Philippine government the directive group would feel certainly the pressure of the advantage of educating all the masses, because the first work of the government would be to strengthen the nation in the interior and exterior and there would be recognized that public instruction is the most solid basis of a nation's strength.

RELATIONS BETWEEN CHRISTIANS AND NONCHRISTIANS.

The fact that there have occurred examples of abuse and oppression by Filipinos in office of persons belonging to the non-Christian tribes does not indicate a general policy, nor is it the general treatment extended by Christian people to the non-Christian tribes. The reference to these abuses seems to indicate the belief that the Christian people in their relation with the non-Christian people would not be disposed to give to the latter a just and liberal treatment, which would tend to lift them to the grade of civilization acquired by the Christian people. Nothing, however, can present with less accuracy the point of view and the intention which animates the Christian people with respect to those who are not so. The inhabitants of the Christian provinces, as we have stated elsewhere, understand that the non-Christian tribes are a very important and valuable factor, not only for the population but likewise for the defense of the common country. The variety of people which inhabits the islands and speak different dialects with distinct religious creeds and customs, are susceptible of forming a true homogeneous unit, which they now have, through ethical reasons, assisted by the chains of common

interests and ideals for the objects of progress and civilization. The belief that there is a true rivalry and hatred between the Christian and non-Christian people has been almost always exaggerated; nothing, however, is falser than this opinion. The simple knowledge of the non-Christian tribes of the establishment of the Filipino government in Malolos produced a distinct approximation in the ideas and relations of the Christian and non-Christian people, the latter having presented themselves spontaneously to the authorities of said government, giving it loyal support and recognition. There is too the fact that some Christians of Luzon and Visayas have established themselves in Moro territory or in various "rancherias" that live in the mountains from which the most skillful have succeeded in acquiring greater or less fortune.

The true reason for the dissatisfaction and differences existing between the non-Christian people and the Christian people is based rather on the fact that the non-Christian people believe the Christians allied with the foreign government, anxious to pervert them with a change of their religious beliefs. But religious intolerance having disappeared, the principal factor which caused the existing differences between the two, it will not be difficult to convince the non-Christian people of the islands of the benefits of living under a common régime with the inhabitants of the Christian provinces. We are convinced that a Filipino government is the only one that could reach in a permanent manner and without violence a definite understanding with the non-Christian communities of the islands, because the latter in spite of the differences of religion and customs, would not oppose, nor could they oppose, the influence of the ethnical unity and relationship. This circumstance gives to the Christian Filipinos the advantage of a better knowledge of the psychology of their non-Christian compatriots and teaches them the road most appropriate and the measures most suitable to reach the intelligence and hearts of the said compatriots and to establish with them the relationship which tends to consolidate national unity.

LITTLE POLITICAL EXPERIENCE.

The little political experience of the Filipinos, acquired under the Spanish Government, has constantly been a theme touched upon to refuse the national aspirations of the Filipinos. But if it be considered that the nations, whatever be their race or creed of humanity, have only gained complete experience through direct and absolute control in the management and government of their interests, such argument loses a great part of its force and strength. Experience in life and in business certainly comes in no other manner but in daily contact with the men or with the interests which are managed. The United States has not gained experience to manage the affairs of a federation, except since the old Britannic colonies declared themselves independent and constituted such form of government. We are convinced that the Filipinos must likewise expect more complete experience to direct and administer their national affairs after they are independent. The Filipinos have gained, doubtless, greater experience than they had in the past domination in municipal and provincial affairs, because they have been placed face to face with the responsibilities and difficulties of practice in such affairs. Experience in the control of affairs which we would call national it may be said they have not had during the present régime, or if they have had, it is as an experience purely theoretical. So that if the laws which govern the present system are to continue permanently, the Filipinos would experience the same results which they had with the Spanish Government as to practical political education.

The Filipinos acquired much more experience and education during the epoch of the so-called government of the Filipino republic than in any time before or since the American occupation. The succinct relation that we made in the first chapter of the provisions and regulations adopted by that government shows that the governmental practice of the Filipinos does not differ much from the experience of the old nations. This historic fact serves to demonstrate that political experience may be gained either by independent effort or by the experience of others.

The colonial experience of the United States has occurred only since the war with Spain. The political experience of American statesmen has been limited before this time to domestic affairs. When the American nation, through the declaration of their prominent men, and in other ways, congratulates itself in saying that its colonial administration of the new people, subject to its domination, has been carried on with success, we can not do less than infer from this the truth from our point of view that a previous practical experience is not necessary to a country when it shows good judgment and disposition in other affairs to obtain the success of an undertaking.

We are glad to be able to say that the good sense and the good disposition shown by the Filipino people in adapting its life and customs to the practice of the civilized nations of Europe and America permit the well-founded hope that with this actual practical experience it will have success in its work in the experiment of an independent government.

A COMMON LANGUAGE.

The lack of a common language spoken and written in the relations of the Filipinos among themselves has been likewise mentioned a number of times in discussing the problem of our independence. It has caused the teaching of English in the schools and its diffusion by all possible means among different people of the country, with the object that the Filipino people may acquire not only a common medium of communication but likewise the advantages that the possession of the English language would give for commerce and the study of free institutions.

The existence of various dialects within a single country is certainly an impediment to easy communications, and to the communication of thought and word between men of the same country, but the fact that there exists a like condition in many independent nations of old Europe makes us believe that it is not an indispensable condition to the independence of nations.

The number of dialects of the country, and the importance of the difficulties which this variety of dialects creates has been much exaggerated. But to be accurate, we must say that properly there are three dialects: one which dominates in the north, that is the Ilocano; another that dominates in the center, that is the Tagalog; and another that dominates in the south, that is the Visayan. The other dialects are varieties of one of these three principal ones, so that after a period of a few weeks in a place the Filipinos may speak and understand the dialect of the locality.

IV.

Obstacles to the Indefinite Retention of the Islands Preparatory to their Independence.

The present policy was explained by President Taft in his special report as Secretary of War to the President relating to the Philippine Islands, dated the 23d of January, 1908, as follows:

"I do not see how any more definite policy can be declared than was declared by President McKinley in his instructions to Secretary Root for the guidance of the Philippine Commission, which was incorporated into law by the organic act of the Philippine government, adopted July 1, 1902. That policy is declared to be the extension of self-government to the Philippine Islands by gradual steps from time to time as the people of the islands shall show themselves fit to receive the additional responsibility, and that policy has been consistently adhered to in the last seven years now succeeding the establishment of civil government.

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"It necessarily involves in its ultimate conclusion as the steps toward self-government become greater and greater the ultimate independence of the islands, although, of course, if both the United States and the islands were to conclude after complete self-government were possible that it would be mutually beneficial to continue a governmental relation between them like that between England and Australia there would be nothing inconsistent with the present policy in such a result.

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"Any attempt to fix the time in which complete self-government may be conferred upon the Filipinos, in their own interest, is, I think, most unwise. The key of the whole policy outlined by President McKinley and adopted by Congress was that of the education of the masses of the people and the leading them out of the dense ignorance in which they are now, with a view to enabling them intelligently to exercise the force of public opinion without which a popular self-government is impossible."

This policy nevertheless has not yet been sanctioned by Congress in all its parts. Congress, which is the power in which resides the regulation of affairs referring to the Philippine Islands, has until the present refused to express its opinion with reference to the future political status of the islands.

CONTRARY OPINIONS AND POSITIONS.

This indefiniteness as to the political future of the country results in two contrary movements of opinion as well among Americans as among Filipinos: some who believe that independence must be conceded after some years, and others who believe that it is never to be conceded. The doubts which arise from this state of indefiniteness result in all and each one working without a fixed direction, producing a lack of general agreement, which is far from favoring the progress and well-being of all the residents of the islands. In the attitude, idea, and actions of many Americans in the

islands appears to be indicated the conviction held by them that the Filipinos are not to be, nor will ever be, independent; that the American flag will never be lowered there, where it has once waved. So that, notwithstanding the repeated declarations made by high authorities in the United States that the government implanted in the islands is for the interest and benefit of the Filipinos, there are many American residents of the islands who conduct themselves in the contrary sense, animated apparently with the idea that the government has been established here exclusively for their interest and benefit. It is observed, for example, that there are few Americans of those who come to the islands who have endeavored to intimately know the Filipinos or to gain the friendship of the latter, by socially and personally uniting with them, but many of them have displayed egotistic and personal motives; sometimes publicly indicating that the Americans have come to the islands to better their purses and interests, and at other times depreciating the association of the Filipinos, or in a thousand ways treating them depreciatingly. Few of the Americans who deal with the Filipinos can hear with calmness the demands of the Filipinos for their independence, but many of them laugh jokingly at it as at a thing impossible. On the other hand, the Filipinos who accept in good faith and sincerity the carrying out of this policy, in view of those examples given by the Americans, can with difficulty induce a ray of hope into the minds of their compatriots, and not a few come to establish in their minds the belief that the American Government is not disposed to specify today or at any time the political aspirations of the Filipinos.

HARMONY AND GOOD UNDERSTANDING MADE DIFFICULT.

From this naturally come many difficulties which do not contribute to create that healthful harmony, that close relation, between Americans and Filipinos which is necessary for the fulfilling of the mission which the American people desires to fill with respect to the natives of the islands. The American Government needs the cooperation of the people, needs the support of the Filipinos to convince the country as to the generous and altruistic designs which have moved it to remain in the islands, but every day the Filipino politicians are denounced to the government as propagators of evil doctrines; as obstacles to the execution of the plans of the government; as hostile to the sovereignty and mission of North America in the islands; in general, as the most dangerous enemies of its own people. It would even seem that there is an effort to make the government believe that it should suspect all Filipino politicians; that ear should not be given to their proposals and complaints; that it should entirely ignore them or do the contrary of what they ask or propose, because in this manner they might administer more justly and efficaciously the interests of the people in these islands. In this manner the labor of the government for a closer union with the people is strongly embarrassed on the one side by the voice of a portion of the American press which clamors constantly against the policy and the Philippine politicians, and on the other side by the voice of a portion of the Filipino press which, rendered hostile by that, considers it necessary to take the defense of the Filipinos, censuring the Americans, and making them responsible for the violation of its own principles and policy in the islands.

There is observed on this account frequently a low struggle of individuals whose judgments are engaged in presenting an antagonism of interest between American and Filipino people, relaxing the bonds of cordial and mutual intelligence which the government extremely desires to see established. The efforts of men of good faith of both people are always directed in avoiding the breaking out of this struggle, of the reestablishing in a short time courtesy and mutual consideration. The frequent injury that this occasions in the cordiality of the relations of the Filipino people and government is great. Meantime, the government can not remain aloof from this struggle, and as it is composed in its majority of Americans it is obliged to act in accord with the dominating spirit in the American community. From which, in their turn, the Filipinos complain and form among themselves the opinion that the government does not listen to the voice of the Filipinos, but gives consideration only to the interests and satisfaction of the Americans.

DIFFICULTIES IN ADMINISTRATION.

The difficulties of administering the interests of a completely different race are revealed by the fact that the government judges many times very erroneously the attitude of the people and its representatives, and in its turn the people misunderstands the intentions and dispositions of the government. In 1902 there appeared for the first time since the American occupation cholera in Manila and the surrounding provinces. The government was obliged to adopt precautions and measures to protect the health of the inhabitants. There was put in force various regulations drawn up to avoid the propagation of the evil and there was increased the number of the sanitary

corps who had to carry into effect said regulations. The people was not accustomed to the methods adopted and believed itself persecuted by the representatives of the government and refused, in many cases, to submit to the methods prescribed by the official science. The violence in the execution and enforcement of such methods resulted in the hiding of cases and to secret burial of corpses in such cases. The native press criticised some of the regulations emanating from the government and the manner of putting them into execution. The government understood then that the representatives of the press were impeding the measures for the repression of the evil until the knowledge of some facts made the government understand the necessity of reforming the processes, and it then took advantage of the cooperation of the Filipinos themselves in the sanitary measures adopted from which were obtained better results. In 1904 the constabulary was the object of severe criticism on the part of the native press for the commission of abuses and other excesses in the performance of its duties. The government saw in such criticisms as always a spirit of party and hatred on the part of those who criticised the government and its institution. It believed that these sympathized with and aided the ladrones who disturbed peace and order. The publication of certain facts in El Renacimiento gave rise to a prosecution of this newspaper. The evidence in the case proved the commission of acts of violence and torture by officials of the constabulary. The court acquitted the editors of El Renacimiento and since then the appointment of the chiefs and officers of said corps are made with greater care and there has been observed a higher standard of efficiency in the service of the corps and better cooperation of the people with its officers and men.

These facts serve to illustrate the difference of judgment which always appears when a people has not a government composed of men of its own race that can understand clearly its method of life and peculiar habits. This lack of comprehension by a foreign government, aggravated by the difference of language, contributes not a little to the fact that the people view with doubt or lack of confidence the acts of said government. This government needs the faith and the complete confidence of the people in order that every one of its acts should be accepted by the people with the satisfaction and certainty that it is to better their interests and make them happy and prosperous.

Great principles or great men are not so necessary in order that the administration of the interests of a people attain the advancement or well-being of the people, but it is absolutely necessary that the people have entire faith in those to whom are confided its interests, because without that faith every effort of intention or of act that those who govern take will encounter passiveness and indifference on the part of the people. In consequence of this our government attributes at times to ignorance or lack of understanding of its own interest the indifference which the people displays toward many good acts or laws made in its favor, as, for example, the homestead law.

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

These symptoms of doubt manifest themselves markedly in the consideration of economic subjects. All Filipinos believe necessary the development of the natural resources of its to-day unproductive soil. They understand the necessity of the assistance of foreign capital, but they complain at the same time against the policy of selling great tracts of land to corporations, against perpetual franchises for railroad companies, and against the predominance of corporations and commercial interests; and this, which appears a very grave confusion of ideas, has its origin in the rooted belief that the future of the people is threatened by the invasion of that capital which, once rooted here, will be opposed, when the moment arrives, to all change of sovereignty, because it would not believe itself sufficiently secure and protected except under its own sovereignty. If this government were the image and work of the people, these fears would not be felt and the cries of protest of the present would be converted into cries of praise and blessing, because the people would have entire faith and complete security that its interests and its future in the hands of such government would be under the protection of guaranties such as would permit the development of native capital on equal terms with that from abroad.

It is believed generally among the Filipinos that this government has given no attention to favoring with some stimulus the development of Filipino capital and has used all its efforts in bringing capital from without for the exploiting of the material riches of the country. They feel that this government, which has been established for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the inhabitants of the islands according to the text of the instructions of McKinley to Secretary of War Root, leaves the Filipinos abandoned to their fate in the development of their economic interests; does not extend its protection to native capital, whether interesting said capital in the formation of new industries for which the soil offers rich material, there being given some privileges by law, or authorizing facility to Philippine producers and merchants

in the prosecution of their enterprises, or inducing the companies that are formed to admit Philippine capital for the agricultural and mining exploitations. The people observe that all the preferences and stimulus of the government is kept for foreign capital and that the government leaves it unprotected, and it is not to be wondered at that the people feels a profound neglect and that it sees itself in advance beaten in an unequal economic competition and loses faith in the benevolence of the intentions of the government. In the practice of the professions it observes likewise that natives of the country are being relegated to the background and that the business is controlled by Americans, and that, as in the case of the surveyors, there have been efforts to deny to the latter the practice of the profession in what relates to an office of the government, and in its profound logic the people have reason to believe that the government, far from favoring their economic condition, restrains them without, perhaps, wishing to do so.

The people are convinced that they comply with all their obligations to the government; that in spite of their poverty they pay annually in taxes ₱30,000,000, with the object that the government may provide all measures and resources to improve the economic conditions of the country. The Philippine people nevertheless finds itself in the same condition of economic crisis that prevailed under the past domination. Failures to pay and requests for deferment of payment of taxes and the sale of property for insolvency evidence the deplorable state of the economic interests of the Filipinos. The existence and increase of the same pernicious amusements that created such poverty during the Spanish government and which were abolished during the short period of the revolutionary government necessarily accompany such a condition. The increase of houses of usury and loan tend to aggravate the situation. This, which is so evident to the people, is nevertheless not so to the government.

The government believes that the people complain as a matter of routine or through ignorance of what must be paid for the necessary public services. The government shows that the commerce of importation and exportation, which measures the riches of a country, is increasing yearly and shows likewise that the rate of contribution per capita is considerably lower than in any civilized country. From this it results that the people do not understand the government nor the government the people, and the two doubt and mistrust each other.

In such a state of relations, that are the natural consequence of the present régime, the faith which has placed America in the administration of the affairs of the Filipinos for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the latter will never see itself realized. If there is taken into account, in addition, other organic defects in the present régime which prevent the development of the individual and national aptitudes of the people of the islands in a state which is supposed to be one of preparation, the claims of the Filipinos for the enjoyment of an independent government with the object of assuring its own progress and its final well-being would be far more justified.

UNSUITABLE LEGISLATION.

The gravest defect of the present system is founded entirely in the lack of confidence in the capacity of the natives, who are prevented from developing themselves by their own methods and are forcibly subject to an exclusively American type. Little effort has been placed so that the Filipinos by themselves might form the legislation with reference to the conditions and customs of the people. The legislation now in force has been constructed on purely American lines without exact knowledge of the character and peculiarities of the inhabitants of the country. Such legislation is not the work and product of circumstances and convenience of this people, but a copy and imitation of laws taken from a people with different characteristics and a distinct type of civilization. The Philippine Assembly was created after the construction of this legislation, and whatever effort to reform it in its foundation is absolutely nonrealizable through the opposition, at times blind, of the other branch of the legislature. It thus happens that some laws are of difficult application to the people of these islands.

LITTLE PRACTICAL EDUCATION.

In the executive branch is yet more notorious the lack of confidence which is the base of the system. The central axle of the administrative organism revolves in such a way that it leaves to the Filipinos no opportunity for practice in the conduct of public affairs through means of direct contact with the methods of action and their difficulties. If it be considered that the basis of the policy followed in the Philippine Islands is the preparation of the Filipinos for the exercise of the powers of an independent government, it is not seen how under the present system such a result may be obtained. For example, nearly all the chiefs of bureaus are Americans, as are their principal assistants and local agents; that is, all those who go to form

and direct the plans for the execution of the laws. Few Filipinos, if there are any, can by virtue of their offices take part in the determination and regulation of these plans. The best education would be that which places the Filipinos on the ground of reality and places them in contact, by virtue of the duties of their offices, with a knowledge of the methods and practical difficulties of the public service.

INEQUALITY IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

From this comes the constant demand of the natives for the Filipinization of the public service, but the bureaucratic spirit which is developed necessarily among the colonizers in a colony tends to neutralize the results of this demand. The slow course that the insular government is adopting to place Filipinos in the offices of high salary and responsibility, notwithstanding the merit and the efficiency demonstrated in several years of service, is the result of constant employment of Americans who in a large number are always awaiting every occasion to occupy the vacancy or promotion of other Americans. The Filipinos are placed necessarily in their subordinate and assisting posts, and even when many of them are really prepared by experience gained through long service in the office and perform the duties performed by the Americans, only rarely and by accident are they promoted to the places of the latter.

The same treatment is not accorded to Americans and Filipinos in the civil service. In practice there appear to govern certain rules for Americans, and others for Filipinos. The salaries are not the same for one as for the other. The Americans are promoted more rapidly than the Filipinos in the same office, and the cases of demotion of the Filipinos are frequent. The merit and efficiency of the Filipinos are rated with greater rigor than those of the Americans, as well as likewise their failings in the service. All this is evidenced manifestly in the material fact that nearly all the posts occupied by Americans since the establishment of civil government continue in possession of the Americans.

The increase of Filipino employees each year is only apparent. There is not a chief of office who does not place annually in his estimate for expenses a greater sum than in the preceding year, and with this augment are created some inferior posts that are filled by Filipinos. The number which is set forth in the reports of the civil service is the total, and it shows an increase in the number of Filipino employees but not a diminution in the number of Americans. If the American policy in this matter in establishing the civil service is to educate the Filipino in the sense of responsibility in the government, the practice followed, instead of favoring this policy, paralyzes it in its educative effects and as a result tends to form a sort of privileged class composed solely of Americans.

GOVERNMENT OF THE NONCHRISTIAN PEOPLE.

Another grave fault of the present system is having followed the policy of maintaining a complete separation between the Christian and non-Christian people. The different tribes which inhabit the mountains of the north of Luzon and the Mohammedans of Mindanao must form part of the Filipino nation as belonging to the same territory and originating from a single ethnical trunk. The separation between these only tends to foment a lack of common interest, which creates in its practical results unfounded misunderstandings between them. There should be inculcated in the people of said tribes the idea that this is a Filipino government, and on that account they should become accustomed to see Filipinos at the head of the governments instituted among themselves. The concept which actually is imbued in them is that they must be protected against the alleged abuses of their own brothers—the Filipinos. If the Filipino nation is to govern alone in the future and those who constitute such tribes have to form part of said nation, it is necessary to have them look on the Christians as brothers, as fellow-citizens with whom they are to live and are to be united in a community of culture and aspiration. The Christians, as we said elsewhere, can not be assumed to be without all practical sense; that does not appreciate their interest in civilizing those non-Christian tribes that are an important factor as well for the population as for the defense of the common country. There would certainly not be lacking Christian Filipinos of demonstrated executive skill who might govern said tribes in accordance with their interest and well-being. The present political and administrative organization which separates the Christians from those that are not does not tend to the preparation for an independent Philippine government, but to prepare for the latter in its day difficulties in its relations with the inhabitants of said localities. If the Philippine Assembly could have jurisdiction over the territory occupied by the non-Christian tribes and the Moro Province there would be made evident the reasonable interest that the Christian people feel for the progress and well-being of the non-Christian people.

Conclusion.

The Philippine Islands were acquired by the United States by virtue of the cession made by Spain through an indemnization of $20,000,000 in accordance with the treaty of Paris. On the date that this treaty was signed a great part of the Philippine territory was in power of a government organized by the Filipinos. The organization of this government was made with the knowledge, consent, and moral support of the Americans. On the opening of the Spanish-American war, Aguinaldo, who was considered the leader of the insurrection against Spain in 1896, came from Hongkong in an American transport of war with the object of reopening the revolution against Spain, having been induced to believe that he might reckon on the aid of the American forces. Although he made no use of the offers that were made to him, practically the attitude of the Americans and the relations that Aguinaldo maintained with them created the impression that he might consider them as allies. For some time the launches and steamers that were at the service of Aguinaldo displayed the Filipino flag and were not prevented from circulating in the Bay of Manila and some provinces to carry forces and orders to Aguinaldo.

The 13th day of August, 1898, the city of Manila surrendered and General Merritt, as commander of the American forces of occupation, published a proclamation, in one of whose paragraphs he said: That he had not come to the islands to take a piece of territory. From the date mentioned before and until the 4th of February, 1899, the Filipino government maintained cordial relations with the military troops of North America, and all of the differences were regulated through official communications of the representatives of the two governments.

These facts are mentioned with the object of showing that the persistency of the Filipinos in being independent is bound up in the recollections of that short period of their past in which, associated with the Americans, they threw down the secular power of a sovereignty and experienced the satisfaction and happiness of governing by themselves their interests and their future. Then they understood how satisfactory and sweet to the citizens is the yoke imposed by the power of its own laws and the government by men of its own race, and how close and loyal is the cooperation which exists between people and government to better the interests of the country and to enter resolutely and without embarrassment into the wide ways of human progress. Then the Filipinos abandoned all the vicious practices which the former sovereignty had extended over all the masses and recovered the good qualities which people free from all yoke possessed. This moved the Filipinos to resist with all their force the new American domination, and to submit to it only when they fully understood that they might be independent in a more or less short period. The efforts of the Filipinos in defense of that government, the blood which its soldiers shed, and the money which was employed in the service of the Filipino flag, recalls to them constantly that short period of its happiness and makes them consider the present as a temporary situation which they desire to abbreviate as much as possible in order to acquire the satisfaction of their national ambitions and their intentions of elevation and enrichment of the country. They wish to consider that the American people have been guided providentially to these islands to save its people from oppression; they recognize that the American people has borne itself with liberality toward the Filipinos after the latter had been conquered; but they believe at the same time that if there existed the providential designs, these have been completely realized; that after twelve years that North America has governed these islands under its flag and has made clear to its inhabitants those theories and practices of a free people, the Government has terminated its mission with honor and glory for itself in these islands and may confide the government to the Filipinos with complete security for the interests of the latter and to all those that live in the country. The Filipinos at all times have shown a broad spirit of progress, a high interest in assimilating all ideas and practices of civilized people, and are not doubtful that they will operate in accordance with those ideas and practices on occupying their position among the nations of the earth.

For all these reasons, Mr. Secretary, we respectfully charge you to be the interpreter of the feelings of the Filipinos to President Taft, to whom we desire to transmit a copy of this document, and to the American Congress, to each one of whose members we likewise desire to transmit copies of the same.

Respectfully,

The Executive Center of the Nacionalista Party.
By Sergio Osmeña, *President*.

Certified:
Maximino Mina, *Secretary*.

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Appendix D.

[Translation.]

Memorandum from Both Political Parties.

Manila, *September 1, 1910.*

Mr. Secretary: We have the honor to send attached hereto a memorandum that contains, in synthesis, some of the subjects of which we treated extensively in our conferences with you. On these subjects the two Philippine political parties, the "Nacionalista" and the "Nacional Progresista," are in complete accord, and the executive committees of said parties have authorized and ordered us to submit the present.

Allow us, Mr. Secretary, to be,
Very respectfully, yours,

Lajos,
President Nacionalista Party.
V. Singson Encarnación,
President Progresista Party.

Hon. Jacob McG. Dickinson,
Secretary of War of the United States.

[Translation.]

WE NEED A CONSTITUTION.

Whatever may be the ultimate and definite political status of the country, and whether independence come now or later, it is evident that the Philippine people need a constitution right now. Not to make this an ultimate aspiration, but in order to obtain immediately and by means thereof a safeguard for the rights and liberties of the people.

A fundamental law, enacted by the people, has in all times been a supreme necessity among all free peoples. As Lord Bryce says, the constitutions of the States are the most ancient documents of the political history of America; they are the continuation of the "royal colonial charters" under which they established their different local governments, subject to the authority of the British Crown and ultimately of the English Parliament.

In reality there exists no guaranties for the people, or true limitations to power unless said people enacts its own constitution.

"The Constitution is an agreement of the people in their individual capacity reduced to writing, whereby they establish and fix certain principles for their own government." (State *v.* Parkhurst, 9 N. J., 422.)

"The theory of our political system is that sovereignty ultimately rests in the people, from whom all authority emanates." (Cooley.)

Constitution is "the fundamental law or basis of government." (Story.)

"The supreme, original and written will of the people acting in their highest capacity, creating and organizing the form of government, designating the different departments and assigning to these their respective powers and duties and obliging them to act within their respective spheres, this is the Constitution." (State *v.* Cox, 8 Ark., 436.)

Under the Constitution we want to put into effect, among others, the following purposes, which we set forth under separate headings, inasmuch as each one of them constitutes a matter so important and complete that we invite the attention of the Secretary of War to each and every one thereof.

A COMPLETE DECLARATION OF RIGHTS MADE BY THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES.

All the people of all countries have always been compelled to seek safeguards for their rights and guaranties for their liberties. Therefore, the declaration of rights constitutes the principal part of a constitution.

"The petition of English rights in the year 1688 was historic and retrospective; the declaration of Virginia comes directly from the heart of nature and proclaims the principles of government for all future time." (Cooley.)

"The American Bills of Rights desire not only to formulate certain principles of political organization, but above all, they define the lines of separation between the state and the individual. The individual does not, according to them, owe to the state, but to his own nature, as a subject of law, the inalienable and inviolable rights he has." (Jellinek.)

EXTENSION OF LEGISLATIVE POWERS.

The reservation by Congress of many legislative powers that up to the present time have not been granted to the Philippine Legislature is a serious disadvantage to our interests. To cite no other cases we will invite attention to the lack of a naturalization law. This law is most important and its approval should not be delayed a single instant.

SEPARATION OF POWERS AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUDICIARY.

The extraordinary situation that naturally followed the war having ceased, we do not see how the present system can continue longer, one that puts in the hands of one or a few men all the powers of the State. Several centuries have already passed since the constitutional charters were inaugurated by the division of powers. "If the individual himself," says Montesquieu, "can make the laws as delegate of the nation, to apply them as a judge and execute them as a sovereign, this man has despotism in his hand."

"The consolidation of all the legislative, executive, and judicial powers in the same hands, whether of one, several, or many, and either by hereditary right, usurpation, or election, may with justice be called the best definition of tyranny." (Madison.)

That the judiciary should be independent is something that can not be questioned.

"There is no liberty if the judiciary is not separated from the legislative and executive power." (Montesquieu.)

AN ELECTIVE SENATE.

From the experience that has been gained with the establishment of the Philippine Assembly, there is now no reason why the powers of the people may not be extended to a complete legislative control through the creation of an elective senate.

Only thus, acknowledging in the people the right of representation, in the house (cámara popular) and in the senate, can the interests of the said people be adequately maintained.

Moreover, there is need for reorganizing the public services, simplifying them, and at the same time making them more efficient, seeking more economy; and this task is little less than impossible to accomplish unless there is a senate elected by the people.

There are, on the other hand, certain powers that pertain to the smallest subdivisions of the government which are now attributed, with no advantage to anyone, but with injury to all, to the central government. We want more autonomy and less centralization in the local life, in order to develop and not restrain the initiative ability of the people, and this purpose can with difficulty be carried into effect if the powers of the two chambers are not derived from the people.

EXTENSION OF THE POPULAR LEGISLATIVE POWER THROUGHOUT THE ARCHIPELAGO.

The sentiment is unanimous among the Philippine people that the recognition of our national independence does not come burdened with the disastrous mutilation of our Philippine territory.

While it is not reasonable to deprive the Assembly of the exercise of legislative powers over those portions of the Philippine territory, whether or not occupied by Christians, but inhabited all about by people related to our race, and whose needs and feelings we must necessarily be acquainted with better than outsiders, the anomalous case

is presented of Filipinos in considerable numbers living in these portions of the territory who do not enjoy the civil and political rights accorded to other Filipinos living in other portions of the same territory. The Supreme Court of the United States, ruling upon the nullity of certain laws of the Commission depriving the non-Christian tribes of the benefits of the law of registration of property and of the law of public lands, takes as a basis that the principal object "in the internal administration of the Philippine Islands is to do justice to the natives and not to exploit their country for private gain," and that the guaranties and protection prescribed in the organic law of the 1st of July, 1902, are made extensive to all, for it is hard to believe that the Government of the United States would be in a condition to declare that the phrase "any person" (in article 12 of the organic law cited) does not include the inhabitants of the province of Benguet—that is, inhabitants belonging to non-Christian tribes.

We judge this restriction of the Assembly in its legislative tasks over Mindanao and the non-Christian tribes is the effect solely of a sad prejudice. The fact is that in those regions no Christians have settled save 60,000 Filipinos, and granting this is true the aspiration to participate in the government of those portions of our national territory is only sensible and just. We mean by this that there is no question of absorption of that government on the part of the popular element, but a simple participation that can not be denied without trampling upon and ignoring the incontrovertible principles of equity and justice.

In conclusion, this intervention in the management of the affairs of Mindanao and the non-Christian tribes is sought because nearly a million dollars in the Philippine treasury coming from general taxation of the people is invested, without consent or intervention of said people, in and by the government of the Moro Province and non-Christian tribes.

"That maxim that has been familiar to every intelligent person and for many generations that the taxpayers are the ones to enact the law of taxes that must be paid" (Cooley)—

implies that the revenues collected by virtue of said laws and imposts must be expended by and for the benefit of those who paid them.

Moreover, there has been talk, in order to sustain the present anomalous administration of the Moro Province and the non-Christian tribes, of a supposed antagonism between the Philippine Christians and these non-Christian tribes. If given opportunity, we might demonstrate with satisfaction that this antagonism does not exist. But without being prophets we may say that unfortunately such antagonism will arise if we continue an administration that results in making men who live upon the same soil become not only not brethren, but probably enemies. By not favoring our contact with the non-Christian tribes or Moros, but completely isolating us from them, it is not difficult to sow among them those ideas that sooner or later will create distrust, hostility, and enmity toward the Christians.

IMPEACHMENT.

It is important to institute some procedure whereby high officials of the government may be held answerable, and the separation of powers and the independence of the judiciary present a corallary that in certain grave cases said officials may and must answer for their conduct before bodies designated by law.

There are several other matters that we wish to include in this memorandum. These are:

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

Even though we are assured that Congress in its wise enactments will not alter the prudent policy established relative to Chinese exclusion, we believe, nevertheless, that we should enter here the unanimous feeling of the country in favor of this policy.

SALE OF PUBLIC LANDS AND THE FRIAR ESTATES.

Being desirous of implanting among ourselves the idea of a true democracy and providing against difficulties that, having occurred elsewhere, may occur among us in time to come, we resolutely set ourselves against a wider extension of the lands of public domain that may be sold to private parties or corporations. We also wish that such opinion prevail in connection with the sale of the friar estates. The intervention of the government in these estates never was understood to be the business, more or less lucrative, of said government, but to be a sacred duty, to relieve the Philippine land tenants of the difficult position they occupied in the past.

FILIPINIZATION OF THE PUBLIC SERVICES.

While many of the questions we submit in this memorandum are, in the last analysis, within the province of Congress, the point enunciated in this paragraph is completely in your hands, and with all respect and most earnestly we beg that it be justly and promptly decided.

We might enter upon a lengthy dissertation, which, without lack of data or facts, might be sufficiently strong to support our claim; but we believe it unnecessary to insist upon it if we keep in mind the obligations themselves that, by virtue of definite statements, the government of the United States has assumed. If President Roosevelt said that his idea was to erect a Philippine government of Filipinos, assisted by Americans, and President Taft declared that the Philippines must be for the Filipinos, from President McKinley come the following emphatic words, that are now fundamental precepts in virtue of their incorporation into the act of Congress of July 1, 1902.

McKinley said

" * * * that wherever officers of more extended jurisdiction are to be selected in any way, natives of the islands are to be preferred, and if they can be found competent and willing to perform the duties, they are to receive the offices in preference to any others."

It is not our purpose to recommend in the proposition that those efficient Americans should immediately be deprived of the positions they are now filling, but at the same time we do not see why, as the Filipino becomes competent to fill posts of greater responsibility, vacancies that occur are not filled by Filipinos.

LAJOS,
President of the Nacionalista Party.
V. SINGSON ENCARNACIÓN,
President of the Progresista Party.

Appendix E.

[Translation.]

Message of the Popular Nacionalista League of the Philippines.

Manila, P. I., *August 29, 1910.*

Hon. Jacob M. Dickinson,
Secretary of War of the United States of North America, Manila, P. I.

Honorable Sir: The undersigned, Filipino citizens, who compose the board of directors of the Popular Nacionalista League, a political party which is working by legitimate means to obtain the immediate independence of the Philippines, pray of the Secretary of War of the United States, Hon. Jacob M. Dickinson, that he recommend to the President and the Congress of the United States of North America that these two high powers of the great American Republic concede to us immediate independence, as the only means of making happy the people of the islands, according to the petition made by our Resident Commissioner in the United States, Hon. Manuel Quezon, to the American Congress.

This petition is based on the following reasons:

I.

Historical Antecedents.

The United States granted immediate independence to the little island of Cuba without any reason or cause other than the historical veneration of the American people for the inalienable rights of any people to obtain for itself its own happiness, and to establish a government derived from the consent of the inhabitants; and, moreover, because the United States has seen the Cuban people struggle resolutely against Spain, sacrificing life and fortune to obtain their independence. Therefore, the Filipino people, who are ten times greater than Cuba in population, territory, and resources, supporting themselves upon the rigorous logic of this altruistic action of America with respect to Cuba, consider themselves entitled to receive from the United States the same generous concession of independence, because the Filipino people, as such people, have the same inalienable rights to obtain for themselves their own happiness, establishing a government derived from the consent of the Filipinos; and, moreover, because the Filipino people also struggled against the same Spain to obtain their independence, with more boldness, perhaps, than Cuba, in view of the fact that they began their struggle for independence without arms other than their bare hands, their bolos, and their faith in the ideal, succeeding, nevertheless, in 1898, in vanquishing the Spaniards in noble conflict, to the point of being able to establish in the capital at Malolos their own independent national government, in the face of all of the squadrons and all of the consuls of the greatest nations of the world, including America, represented by Admiral Dewey, although at a cost, doubtless, of thousands of lives and the blood and fortunes of her most noble sons, as is well known.

II.

Economic Resources.

According to the census of 1903 of the Philippines (Vol. IV, p. 429), the total value of the property, real and other, of the Filipinos amounted to ₱622,245,719, Philippine currency, which, in imports and exports alone, produced the amount of ₱57,343,808, Philippine currency (Philippine census, p. 16, Vol. IV). The value of exports and imports having increased to, in the fiscal year 1908–9, the enormous sum of ₱70,000,000, according to recent statistics of the Philippine customs administration, it follows, logically, that the property of the Filipinos has increased to double that of their first value of ₱622,245,719, and, therefore, it is hoped, with all assurance, the increase in the economic resources of the Filipino people will each time be greater, thus assuring an increase of the public taxes such as to satisfy the greatest needs of an independent government.

III.

Moral and Social Condition.

The Filipino people loves God above all things, without fanaticism or intolerance, as illustrated by its different religious cults, as carried forward by each church, sect, or confession, amidst the most perfect order. And it also loves its neighbor as itself, as evidenced by the small number of Filipino criminals, which is less than 8 for each 10,000 inhabitants, while in the United States of America the proportion is 13 for each 10,000 inhabitants, according to the census of 1903 (p. 445, Vol. IV).

In this connection we transcribe here below a paragraph from the page and volume of the Philippine census above cited:

"Considering the unstable state of the affairs of the country during the six years preceding the taking of the census, the result is not only favorable, but is extraordinary, and indicates that the Filipinos, as a race, are not particularly inclined to crime."

The diminution of crimes and of criminals in the Philippines is explained by the better pacification of the country, resulting in attracting the people to their habitual love of agricultural, industrial, and commercial labor. This is so certain that in some crimes, banditry, for instance, the criminals are conspicuous by their absence, according to the last criminal statistics published by the worthy attorney-general of the islands, Hon. Ignacio Villamor.

The Filipinos are given to labor, and consequently, as lovers of peace and order, they cultivate their rich agricultural lands and promote industry and commerce, in proof of which the increased value of imports and exports is cited. When it is taken into account that, according to the Philippine census (p. 322, Vol. II), the active laborers of a country of 8,000,000 inhabitants count only 1,000,525, and a like number, more or less, of women, it is wonderful that such a small active force should produce annually the fabulous sums above mentioned.

The people of the islands are devoted to the family and the home, than which there are no better pledges for the stability and efficiency of any government where there is also an anxiety for education. They cultivate the sciences and arts devotedly, as evidenced by the 500,000 Filipino youths annually attending the public schools and private institutions here and abroad. They receive with affection all of the material improvements, such as the telegraph, the telephone, the railroads, the electric cars, automobiles, the press, and all classes of useful machinery.

And, lastly, the Filipinos are hospitable and pacific toward the stranger, as you have had occasion to observe during your stay in the Archipelago.

IV.

Political Capacity.

During the ten years of American occupancy of the islands there have been held five general elections for provincial and municipal offices, and there have been two more for delegates to the Philippine Assembly. During these ten years there have been some 90,000 Filipinos who have successively filled the various offices in the municipal councils, in the provincial governments, and in the Philippine Assembly in a manner that is certainly very satisfactory, with rare exceptions, because they have maintained public order, avoided insurrection, collected nearly ₱400,000,000 of public taxes, and have cooperated with the judicial, health, public works, and police officials for the best success of the entire civil service of the Philippine government.

If this is not sufficient to demonstrate the full capacity of the Filipino people, then show us the book, the history, or the text in which we can learn the art of politics, because the history, universal and individual, ancient as well as modern, of all the civilized nations, can teach us nothing new or better with respect to the government of the respective peoples than has been put in practice by the Filipino people, as has been shown.

V.

Administrative Capacity.

During the ten years of American occupation in these islands 7,056 Filipinos, excepting the constabulary and scouts, have held public offices in the judicial, fiscal, and all the different administrative bureaus of these islands, to the entire satisfaction of the American chiefs, as proved by the annual reports of the latter.

But where the administrative capacity of the Filipino shows brightest is in the armed corps of the scouts and the constabulary, in which it is not known whether to admire most their fidelity or their patience, their valor or their discipline, or their activity or their intelligence in the performance of their laborious and difficult duties.

VI.

Inherent Incompatibilities.

The illustrious American and statesman, Mr. Webster, said:

"Gently as the yoke of a foreign government may rest, the happiness of a subject people is impossible."

And so it is, honorable Secretary of War of the United States, for gently, and very gently, as rests the yoke of American Government in these islands, in comparison with that of the past, nevertheless the Filipino people are daily more unhappy, because of the incompatibility of any colonial government to make and give happiness to a subject people.

We offer for your consideration some sad examples which demonstrate our thesis and that of the illustrious American statesman, Mr. Webster, which occurred here in the Philippines during the ten years of American occupation. But before presenting them, we desire to make it understood that we give them without intent to complain of anyone or to accuse anyone, because our proposition is solely to demonstrate the impossibility of our being happy under the present government of the islands.

FIRST CASE OF INCOMPATIBILITY.

It is well known that when we made peace with the army of the United States, through the friendly mediation of Hon. William H. Taft, now President of the United States, the Filipinos, notwithstanding having recognized American sovereignty, were yet permitted to use our Filipino flag, not as a symbol of sovereignty and national authority, but as a glorious remembrance of the past and as a symbol of our faith in the ideal and of our hopes in the glorious American flag to obtain our independence. And so we made use of the Filipino flag in our native holidays until August 23, 1907.

But on this date the Philippine government, on the petition of all of the Americans in these islands, enacted the act, No. 1696, prohibiting the use of our beloved Filipino flag and penalizing infringement of the law with fine and imprisonment.

Imagine for one moment, Mr. Secretary, that you had been in the Philippines, as was Admiral Dewey, and authorized by your presence the inauguration and use of the Filipino flag, from June 12, 1898, in the face of the Spaniards and of all of the squadrons of the greatest nations of the world, suppressing it only on the day of the breaking out of hostilities between the Americans and Filipinos.

Imagine for a moment that under the folds of the Filipino flag we fought the Spaniards in 1898, vanquishing them in noble conflict and capturing 9,000 Spanish prisoners, though at the cost of many lives, and the blood and fortunes of many heroic sons of the Philippines.

And imagine, at last, that this Filipino flag, moist with the blood of these heroic martyrs of the country, was the symbol of our dearest ideal, Philippine independence, and then you can understand, with a little impartiality, the great injustice to the Filipino people in prohibiting them from using their beloved symbol.

How is it possible to be happy when the heart is wounded in the most holy and most sacred of its sentiments?

SECOND CASE OF INCOMPATIBILITY.

When our municipal authorities are to receive the Governor-General, they have the good taste to do it with bands or orchestras, though not required by law to do so, in order to show their sincere respect, sympathy and courtesy to the first authority of the islands. And, as is customary, the first notes of salute are those of the American national march and of the Filipino national march, the American march sometimes being played first, and at other times the Filipino. The ceremonial of reception was thus celebrated pacifically during the administrations of Messrs. Taft, Wright, Ide, and Smith.

But the present Governor-General, Hon. W. Cameron Forbes, has given verbal orders to the governor of Rizal and to the governor of Batangas, that in future the

American march shall always precede the Filipino and, naturally, this order is another wound inflicted on the heart of the Filipino people, who render homage to their national air with a fervor equal to that which they render to their beloved flag.

THIRD CASE OF INCOMPATIBILITY.

Through the civil-service laws there exists a great difference between the salaries of American and Filipino employees, a difference which may be seen in the following proportion from the report of the Governor-General for 1909 in reference to the bureau of civil service:

Officials and employees:	
Americans	4,397
Filipinos	7,056
Salaries:	
Of 4,397 Americans	₱8,696,962
Of 7,056 Filipinos	₱4,018,988
Average salary:	
For each American	₱3,225.63
For each Filipino	₱914.03

This difference in pay has been interpreted, and is still interpreted by the entire country as an unjust lack of consideration for the intelligence and efficiency of the Filipino official or employee. This lack of consideration has continued through the ten years of American occupation, filling with bitterness and unjustly humiliating the Filipino people.

FOURTH CASE OF INCOMPATIBILITY.

Americanista and anti-Americanista seem to be, for the present government, a sort of joker, to be played at any place and time, as was the case with Español and anti-Español in the time of the Spanish Government.

This thing of Español and anti-Español was the cause of a great deal of ill feeling and discord between the Spaniards and Filipinos, resulting in grave and dangerous consequences for the Filipino people. This history is now being repeated, and there are daily occurrences due to its prejudicial influence, in the street cars, in the public streets and places, and in all private and official transactions, so that it now constitutes an injury to both people. Thus, a Filipino Nationalist is an anti-American, and should therefore be treated with contumely and repugnance.

When it is remembered that the Nationalists constitute the majority of the people, then the suffering and pain caused the ear of the Filipino people by this fourth case of incompatibility will be understood.

FIFTH CASE OF INCOMPATIBILITY.

To the lack of equilibrium which exists, and which has existed always since American occupation between the total public taxation, ₱42,000,000, and the legal circulation, ₱40,337,982.04 (fiscal year 1908–9), is due the fact that usury reigns in the economic life of the country, and this never happened during the time of Spanish Government. Then the taxes amounted to ₱13,000,000, though in the last years of the war of insurrection they increased to ₱17,000,000, while the legal money, Mexican, circulated without limit, due to contraband, resulting in low rates of interest to the benefit of all.

This usury now reaches to from 60 to 100 per cent per annum, and there is no remedy for it but to succumb, because the payments for taxes and economic necessities are peremptory.

We understand that as it was inherent under the Spanish Government to levy small taxes and to take small interest in public improvements, so it is inherent in the American Government to appropriate large amounts, regardless of our strength, through its vehement desire to give us quickly all of the public improvements.

But we see clearly that both governments act without consideration of the just interests of the Filipino people. From this we deduce that no foreign government is capable of conducting the Filipino people to peace and prosperity.

All of the rules of political economy are subordinated to the resources, customs, and habits of a people. If, for example, the production of beer, whisky, tobacco, and sugar were not favored in the United States, and as result thereof the American people had to import these articles from abroad, it is clear that the American people would be rendered economically unfortunate.

And so it is in the Philippines. Spanish genius left us in abandon, and we were poor. American genius puts us in constant action, but to an extent much greater than our resources, strength, and energy will permit, and as a result we lack little, economically speaking, of being isolated.

A proof of this statement is the great increase in the number of usurers established on each street of this city, while in the times of the Spanish Government there were scarcely a half dozen.

There is another example we could cite here, but with a regard for brevity, and in order not to further take your time we omit other citations, and close this message, repeating the prayer that for all of the reasons related you deign to recommend to the President of the great American Republic, that he may in turn transmit the recommendation to Congress and to the Senate of the United States, that immediate independence be conceded to us, as the only right and natural means of bringing about our happiness, as was requested of the American Congress by our Resident Commissioner in the United States, Hon. Manuel L. Quezon.

Very respectfully,

B. Bustamente, Presideut; Luciano de la Rosa, First Vice-President; A. L. Escamilla, Secretary; Hermenegildo Cruz, Subsecretary; Leandro Claro, Treasurer; Timoteo Paez, G. Marankay, Cayto. Arguelles, H. Reyes, Members.

Appendix F.

Letter of Hon. Manuel Quezon.

Manila, *September 1, 1910.*

Mr. Secretary: In compliance with your request made in a personal conversation with the undersigned, I have the honor hereby to express to you the opinion of the Filipinos on the friar lands question.

Of these, there are lands that are occupied by tenants and others that are not. It is the opinion of my people that those occupied by tenants should be, as soon as possible, sold to the tenants—irrespective of the size of the lands or parcels thereof so occupied—even though the government should incur some losses by the speedy disposal of such lands. The reason for this is that the purpose of the government in buying these lands from the friars was precisely to settle the serious problem arisen in these islands by the tenants of those lands through sale of said lands to their tenants.

With regard to the unoccupied lands, it is the opinion of the Filipinos that they should be disposed of subject to the same limitations imposed by law on public lands. The reason for this is the same that the Filipinos have in objecting to the sale of public lands in large areas. It is evident that the Filipinos, in so far as the friar-lands question is concerned, do not give any consideration to the business point of view of the matter, but only to the social and political ones. There are at present no people in this country that are either very wealthy or beggar; the wealth of the country is divided among the people, and this is considered by the Filipinos as the guaranty for the conservatism of this community.

Politically, it is the firm belief of the Filipinos that the ownership of large tracts of lands by foreigners constitutes a menace to the independence, both political and economical, of the archipelago.

The foregoing opinion has been expressed and entertained by all Filipino papers, irrespective of their party affiliation, all of which unanimously declared themselves against the government's policy in the sale of the Mindoro estate, and I know, from what I have heard from other sources, that the opinion so expressed by the papers is entirely in accord with the opinion of the people in general.

Most respectfully,

Manuel Quezon,
Resident Commissioner to the United States for the Philippines.

The Secretary of War of the United States,
Manila, P. I.

Appendix G.

Statement of American and Filipino Employees.

UNDER THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

Bureau or service.	Year.	American.	Filipino.	Others.	Total.	Percentage of—		
						American.	Filipino.	Others.
Executive bureau.....	1903	50	53	2	105	48.0	50.0	2.0
	1904	51	76	1	128	40.0	59.0	1.0
	1905	46	84	1	131	35.0	64.0	1.0
	1906	49	106	1	156	31.0	68.0	1.0
	1907	43	116	2	161	27.0	72.0	1.0
	1908	37	100	3	140	26.0	72.0	2.0
	1909	35	115	2	152	23.0	76.0	1.0
	1910	32	110	2	144	22.0	77.0	1.0
Provincial service.....	1903	86	238	.....	324	27.0	73.0	.....
	1904	87	143	.....	230	38.0	62.0	.....
	1905	80	246	.....	326	25.0	75.0	.....
	1906	60	183	.....	243	25.0	75.0	.....
	1907	50	96	.....	146	34.0	66.0	.....
	1908	49	101	.....	150	33.0	67.0	.....
	1909	47	102	.....	149	32.0	68.0	.....
	1910	39	101	.....	140	28.0	72.0	.....
Municipal service.....	1903	24	14,098	.....	14,122	.2	99.8	.....
	1904	44	11,289	.....	11,333	.4	99.6	.....
	1905	58	10,725	.....	10,783	.5	99.5	.....
	1906	68	10,774	.....	10,842	.6	99.4	.....
	1907	88	11,350	.....	11,438	.8	99.2	.....
	1908	82	11,760	.....	11,842	.7	99.3	.....
	1909	81	12,275	.....	12,356	.7	99.3	.....
	1910	102	12,417	.....	12,519	.8	99.2	.....
Bureau of audits.....	1904	61	27	.....	88	69.0	31.0	.....
	1905	56	41	.....	97	58.0	42.0	.....
	1906	68	54	.....	122	56.0	44.0	.....
	1907	69	61	.....	130	53.0	47.0	.....
	1908	66	78	.....	144	45.0	55.0	.....
	1909	64	103	1	168	38.0	61.3	.7
	1910	60	135	1	196	30.5	69.0	.5
Bureau of civil service.	1903	11	8	.....	19	58.0	42.0	.....
	1904	20	14	.....	34	59.0	41.0	.....
	1905	16	19	.....	35	46.0	54.0	.....
	1906	11	18	.....	29	38.0	62.0	.....
	1907	11	19	.....	30	37.0	63.0	.....
	1908	10	17	.....	27	37.0	63.0	.....
	1909	11	23	.....	34	32.0	68.0	.....
	1910	10	25	.....	35	29.0	71.0	.....
City of Manila.....	1903	739	3,439	.....	4,178	18.0	82.0	.....
	1904	843	4,013	.....	4,856	17.0	83.0	.....
	1905	826	3,675	.....	4,501	18.0	82.0	.....
	1906	720	5,245	.....	5,965	12.0	88.0	.....
	1907	505	5,166	.....	5,671	9.0	91.0	.....
	1908	463	3,521	.....	3,984	12.0	88.0	.....
	1909	522	4,993	.....	5,515	10.0	90.0	.....
	1910	468	3,908	.....	4,376	11.0	89.0	.....

Statement of American and Filipino employees—Continued.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND POLICE.

Bureau of service.	Year.	American.	Filipino.	Others.	Total.	Percentage of—		
						American.	Filipino.	Others.
Bureau of constabulary:								
Officers	1903	205	66	.....	271	76.0	24.0	.....
	1904	261	73	.....	334	78.0	22.0	.....
	1905	269	71	.....	340	79.0	21.0	.....
	1906	247	66	.....	313	79.0	21.0	.....
	1907	253	68	.....	321	79.0	21.0	.....
	1908	248	74	.....	322	77.0	23.0	.....
	1909	246	67	.....	313	78.0	22.0	.....
	1910	254	64	.....	318	80.0	20.0	.....
Employees	1903	23	70	.....	93	26.0	74.0	.....
	1904	48	60	.....	108	45.0	55.0	.....
	1905	56	165	.....	221	25.0	75.0	.....
	1906	68	88	.....	156	44.0	56.0	.....
	1907	23	61	.....	84	27.0	73.0	.....
	1908	22	59	.....	81	27.0	73.0	.....
	1909	24	60	.....	84	29.0	71.0	.....
	1910	21	61	.....	82	26.0	74.0	.....
Enlisted men	1903	.....	6,264	.....	.....	.....	100.0	.....
	1904	.....	6,683	.....	.....	.....	100.0	.....
	1905	.....	6,799	.....	.....	.....	100.0	.....
	1906	.....	4,800	.....	.....	.....	100.0	.....
	1907	.....	4,788	.....	.....	.....	100.0	.....
	1908	.....	4,622	.....	.....	.....	100.0	.....
	1909	.....	4,624	.....	.....	.....	100.0	.....
	1910	.....	4,256	.....	.....	.....	100.0	.....
Bureau of public works	1903	3	.....	.....	3	.....	100.0	.....
	1904	54	15	.....	69	78.0	22.0	.....
	1905	49	26	.....	75	65.0	35.0	.....
	1906	83	60	.....	143	42.0	58.0	.....
	1907	100	84	.....	184	54.0	46.0	.....
	1908	155	117	.....	272	57.0	43.0	.....
	1909	381	479	.....	860	44.0	56.0	.....
	1910	456	715	.....	1,171	39.0	61.0	.....
Bureau of navigation	1903	120	1,152	93	1,365	8.7	84.3	7.0
	1904	178	1,534	166	1,878	9.4	81.7	8.8
	1905	159	1,518	136	1,813	8.7	83.7	7.6
	1906	137	1,461	202	1,800	7.6	81.1	11.3
	1907	150	1,569	140	1,859	8.0	84.4	7.6
	1908	141	1,467	158	1,766	8.0	83.0	9.0
	1909	151	1,594	237	1,982	7.8	80.4	11.8
	1910	182	2,141	296	2,619	6.9	82.5	11.6
Bureau of posts	1903	234	137	1	372	62.9	36.8	.3
	1904	197	379	1	577	34.1	65.7	.2
	1905	156	453	3	612	25.5	74.1	.4
	1906	223	777	3	1,003	22.2	77.5	.3
	1907	210	878	3	1,091	19.2	80.5	.3
	1908	237	1,125	3	1,365	17.4	82.4	.2
	1909	201	1,164	2	1,367	14.7	85.1	.2
	1910	191	1,377	1	1,569	12.2	87.79	.01
Bureau of coast surveys	1903	19	208	.....	227	8.0	92.0	.....
	1904	19	215	.....	234	8.0	92.0	.....
	1905	25	266	.....	291	9.0	91.0	.....
	1906	35	265	.....	300	12.0	88.0	.....
	1907	44	274	.....	318	14.0	86.0	.....
	1908	49	275	.....	324	15.0	85.0	.....

Statement of American and Filipino employees—Continued.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND POLICE—Continued.

Bureau of service.	Year.	American.	Filipino.	Others.	Total.	Percentage of—		
						American.	Filipino.	Others.
Bureau of coast surveys (continued)	1909	49	278	.....	327	15.0	85.0	.....
	1910	47	255	.....	302	16.0	84.0	.....
Bureau of labor	1910	.....	17	.....	17	.....	100.0	.....
Consulting architect	1906	2	5	.....	7	28.6	71.4	.....
	1907	5	14	.....	19	26.3	73.7	.....
	1908	8	12	.....	20	40.0	60.0	.....
	1909	8	13	.....	21	38.0	62.0	.....
	1910	14	15	.....	29	48.3	51.7	.....
Supervising railway expert	1907	6	4	.....	10	60.0	40.0	.....
	1908	5	1	.....	6	83.3	16.7	.....
	1909	3	1	.....	4	75.0	25.0	.....
	1910	3	1	.....	4	75.0	25.0	.....
DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE AND JUSTICE.								
Bureau of the treasury	1903	27	9	.....	36	75.0	25.0	.....
	1904	44	11	.....	55	80.0	20.0	.....
	1905	42	16	.....	58	72.0	28.0	.....
	1906	23	22	.....	45	51.0	49.0	.....
	1907	24	24	.....	48	50.0	50.0	.....
	1908	21	19	.....	40	53.0	47.0	.....
	1909	19	21	.....	40	47.0	53.0	.....
	1910	19	21	.....	40	47.0	53.0	.....
Bureau of internal revenue	1903	26	122	.....	148	18.0	82.0	.....
	1904	36	133	.....	169	21.0	79.0	.....
	1905	72	176	.....	248	29.0	71.0	.....
	1906	72	241	.....	313	23.0	77.0	.....
	1907	89	308	.....	397	22.0	78.0	.....
	1908	89	336	.....	425	21.0	79.0	.....
	1909	83	343	.....	426	19.0	81.0	.....
	1910	84	331	.....	415	20.0	80.0	.....
Bureau of customs	1904	278	733	13	1,024	27.0	72.0	1.0
	1905	241	716	12	969	25.0	74.0	1.0
	1906	221	553	13	787	28.0	70.0	2.0
	1907	173	537	13	723	24.0	74.0	2.0
	1908	150	533	12	695	21.0	77.0	2.0
	1909	146	522	11	679	21.0	77.0	2.0
	1910	136	532	11	679	20.0	78.0	2.0
Court of land registration	1904	3	10	.....	13	24.0	76.0	.....
	1905	7	35	.....	42	17.0	83.0	.....
	1906	7	38	.....	45	16.0	84.0	.....
	1907	9	47	.....	56	16.0	84.0	.....
	1908	7	52	.....	59	12.0	88.0	.....
	1909	6	65	.....	71	8.5	91.5	.....
	1910	6	81	.....	87	7.0	93.0	.....
Supreme court	1903	4	16	1	21	19.0	76.0	5.0
	1904	4	16	1	21	19.0	76.0	5.0
	1905	2	16	1	19	10.0	85.0	5.0
	1906	4	17	1	22	18.0	77.0	5.0
	1907	3	21	2	26	11.0	81.0	8.0
	1908	3	23	2	28	10.0	83.0	7.0
	1909	4	23	2	29	14.0	79.0	7.0
	1910	3	25	2	30	10.0	83.0	7.0

Statement of American and Filipino employees—Continued.

DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE AND JUSTICE—Continued.

Bureau or service.	Year.	American.	Filipino.	Others.	Total.	Percentage of—		
						American.	Filipino.	Others.
Bureau of justice.....	1903	21	13	.....	34	62.0	38.0	.....
	1904	23	13	.....	36	64.0	36.0	.....
	1905	21	15	.....	36	58.0	42.0	.....
	1906	20	17	.....	37	54.0	46.0	.....
	1907	16	23	.....	39	42.0	58.0	.....
	1908	13	25	.....	38	34.0	66.0	.....
	1909	15	28	.....	43	35.0	65.0	.....
	1910	12	30	.....	42	29.0	71.0	.....
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.								
Bureau of agriculture..	1903	24	181	.....	205	12.0	88.0	.....
	1904	22	274	.....	296	7.0	93.0	.....
	1905	20	359	.....	379	5.0	95.0	.....
	1906	33	231	.....	264	13.0	87.0	.....
	1907	38	289	.....	327	12.0	88.0	.....
	1908	50	335	2	387	13.0	87.0	.....
	1909	66	322	5	393	17.0	82.0	1.0
	1910	96	670	5	771	12.0	87.0	1.0
Bureau of education ..	1904	761	3,658	.....	4,419	17.22	82.78	.....
	1905	893	4,587	.....	5,480	16.30	83.70	.....
	1906	801	4,849	.....	5,650	14.18	85.82	.....
	1907	784	6,271	.....	7,055	11.11	88.89	.....
	1908	760	6,962	.....	7,722	9.84	90.16	.....
	1909	863	7,698	.....	8,561	10.08	89.92	.....
	1910	770	8,620	.....	9,030	8.52	91.48	.....
Bureau of printing....	1904	58	218	5	281	20.64	77.58	1.78
	1905	47	241	6	294	15.98	81.97	2.05
	1906	40	253	3	296	13.51	85.47	1.02
	1907	33	257	3	293	11.26	87.71	1.03
	1908	30	318	3	351	8.54	90.59	.87
	1909	27	285	3	315	8.57	90.50	.93
	1910	27	318	3	348	7.76	91.38	.86
Bureau of prisons.....	1903	33	59	.....	92	35.87	54.13	.....
	1904	50	63	.....	113	44.25	55.75	.....
	1905	63	84	.....	147	42.86	57.14	.....
	1906	62	104	.....	166	37.35	62.65	.....
	1907	67	109	.....	176	38.07	61.93	.....
	1908	68	117	2	187	36.36	62.56	1.08
	1909	64	117	2	183	34.97	63.93	1.10
	1910	70	124	2	196	35.71	63.26	1.03
Bureau of supply.....	1903	183	960	4	1,147	16.0	83.7	.3
	1904	174	804	2	980	17.7	82.0	.3
	1905	131	378	2	511	25.6	74.0	.4
	1906	92	359	3	454	20.3	79.0	.7
	1907	98	370	3	471	20.8	78.5	.7
	1908	85	419	2	506	16.8	82.8	.4
	1909	81	390	2	473	17.3	82.4	.3
	1910	90	466	2	558	16.1	83.5	.4
Philippines library...	1910	1	1	.....	2	50.0	50.0	.....
Philippine medical school.....	1907	15	24	1	40	37.5	60.0	2.5
	1908	39	28	.....	46	39.0	61.0	.....
	1909	18	32	1	51	35.0	63.0	2.0
	1910	24	37	2	63	38.1	58.7	3.2

Statement of American and Filipino employees—Continued.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION—Continued.

Bureau of service.	Year.	American.	Filipino.	Others.	Total.	Percentage of—		
						American.	Filipino.	Others.
University of the Philippines	1909	4	2	1	7	57.0	29.0	14.0
	1910	13	21	2	36	36.0	58.0	6.0
Circulating library	1910	6	12	.....	18	33.3	66.7	.....

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

Bureau of health	1904	164	169	5	338	48.5	50.0	1.5
	1905	138	145	8	291	47.4	49.8	2.8
	1906	149	352	8	509	29.3	69.1	1.6
	1907	92	409	9	510	18.0	80.2	1.8
	1908	96	509	6	611	15.7	83.3	1.0
	1909	138	555	7	700	19.7	79.3	1.0
	1910	98	590	7	695	14.1	84.9	1.0
Quarantine service	1903	16	60	2	78	20.0	77.0	3.0
	1904	18	65	2	85	21.0	77.0	2.0
	1905	17	65	2	84	20.0	78.0	2.0
	1906	14	64	2	80	18.0	80.0	2.0
	1907	15	63	2	80	19.0	79.0	2.0
	1908	12	65	2	79	15.0	82.0	3.0
	1909	12	64	2	78	15.0	82.0	3.0
	1910	11	63	3	77	14.0	82.0	4.0
Bureau of lands	1904	10	5	.....	15	67.0	33.0	.....
	1905	9	5	.....	14	65.0	35.0	.....
	1906	44	35	3	82	54.0	43.0	3.0
	1907	79	48	5	132	60.0	36.0	4.0
	1908	90	93	11	194	46.0	48.0	6.0
	1909	115	164	15	294	39.0	56.0	5.0
	1910	122	234	10	366	33.0	64.0	3.0
Bureau of forestry	1903	33	104	1	138	24.0	75.0	1.0
	1904	36	145	1	182	19.0	80.5	.5
	1905	21	115	1	137	15.0	84.0	1.0
	1906	15	38	1	54	28.0	70.0	2.0
	1907	12	25	1	38	32.0	65.0	3.0
	1908	12	24	1	37	32.0	65.0	3.0
	1909	15	22	1	38	39.0	58.0	3.0
	1910	16	32	1	49	33.0	65.0	2.0
Weather bureau	1903	2	78	6	86	2.0	91.0	7.0
	1904	5	74	4	83	6.0	89.0	5.0
	1905	5	79	6	90	6.0	88.0	6.0
	1906	4	73	6	83	5.0	88.0	7.0
	1907	3	79	7	89	3.0	89.0	8.0
	1908	2	78	8	88	2.0	89.0	9.0
	1909	2	80	8	90	2.0	89.0	9.0
	1910	2	91	6	99	2.0	92.0	6.0
Bureau of science	1903	25	36	.....	61	41.0	59.0	.....
	1904	39	55	1	95	41.0	58.0	1.0
	1905	38	64	1	103	37.0	62.0	1.0
	1906	47	80	3	130	36.0	62.0	2.0
	1907	41	78	4	123	33.0	64.0	3.0
	1908	38	88	5	131	29.0	67.0	4.0
	1909	46	92	11	149	31.0	62.0	7.0
	1910	44	115	6	165	27.0	70.0	3.0

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